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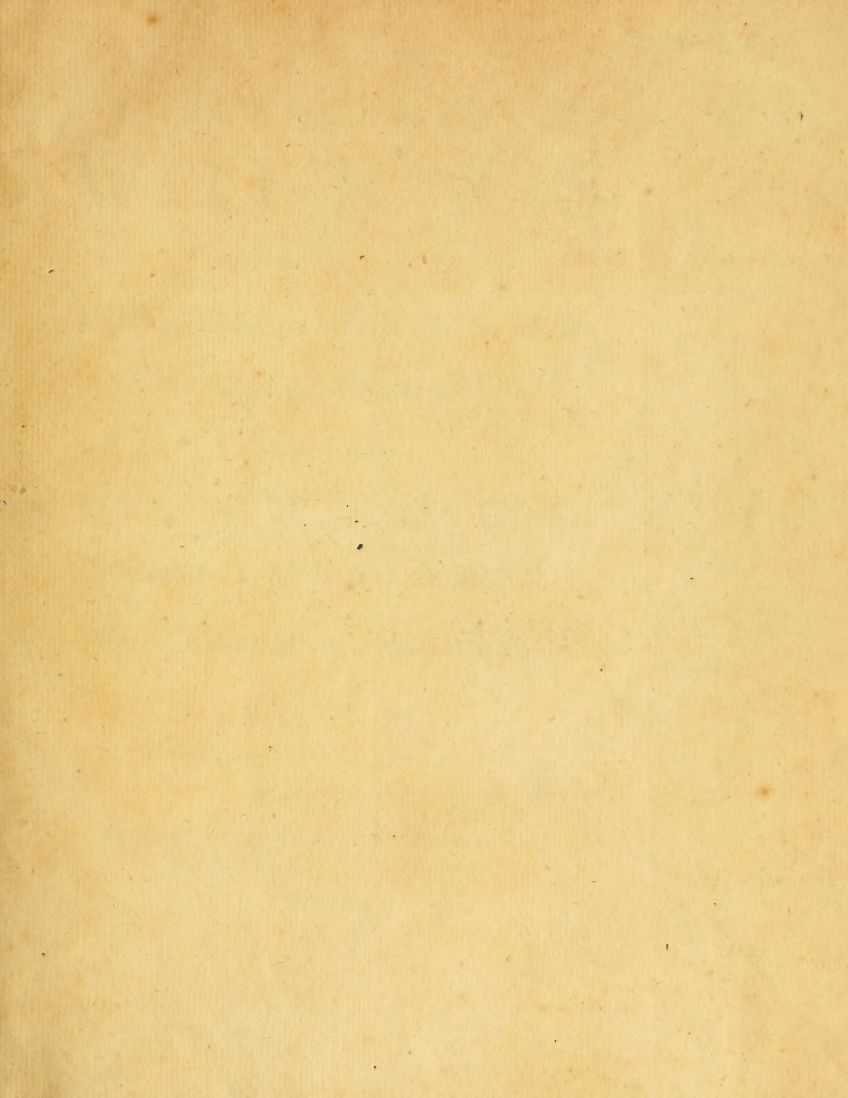


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John Adams.

THE
MISCELLANEOUS
WORKS

Of the late REVEREND and LEARNED

CONYERS MIDDLETON, D. D.

Principal Librarian of the University of Cambridge.

Containing all his

WRITINGS,

Except the LIFE of CICE RO.

Many of which were never before PUBLISHED.

V O L. III.

L O N D O N,

Printed for RICHARD MANBY on Ludgate-hill,
and H. S. COX in Pater-noster-Row.

MDCCLII.

774

MISCELLANEOUS
WORKS

XX
ADAMS
p. 35
v. 3

W R I T I N G S
Except the LIFE of CICERO

Many of which were never before published

V O L. III.

L O N D O N

Printed by J. B. Nichols, at the
Printers Office, in Pall Mall

T H E

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A
LETTER from *ROME*,

Shewing an exact CONFORMITY between

POPERY and PAGANISM:

O R

The Religion of the Present ROMANS, derived from
that of their HEATHEN ANCESTORS.

To which are added,

I. A PREFATORY DISCOURSE,

CONTAINING

An Answer to all the Objections of the Writer of a *Popish* Book,
intituled, *The Catholic Christian instructed*, &c. with many new
Facts and Testimonies, in farther confirmation of the general
Argument of the LETTER:

A N D

II. A POSTSCRIPT,

IN WHICH

Mr. Warburton's Opinion concerning the *Paganism* of Rome is par-
ticularly considered

*Non necesse est fateri, partim horum errore susceptum esse, partim supersti-
tione, multa fallendo.*

Cic. de Divin. ii. 39.

LETTER from ROME.

POPE and PAGANISM.

OF

The Religion of the Present Romans, derived from
that of the Heathen Ancestors.

To which are added,

A PRELATORY DISCOURSE,

CONTAINING

An Answer to all the Objections of the Writers of a Late Book,
intituled, The Christian Churches distressed, &c. &c. in many new
Fables and Traditions, in further confirmation of the general
Agreement of the latter.

AND

A POSTSCRIPT.

IN WHICH

Mr. Warton's Opinion concerning the Paganism of Rome is
further explained.

The Author's Name, and the Title of this Book, are printed
on the Title-page of the second Edition.

To the Right Reverend Father in GOD,

T H O M A S,

Lord Bishop of NORWICH.

My LORD,

IF the subject of the following sheets be not a sufficient plea, for addressing them to a person of Your Lordship's character, I can alledge another, which will give them a kind of right to Your protection; that it is owing chiefly to Your authority, that they are now offered again to the public, in this new and different form; enlarged with a prefatory answer to the exceptions of a Popish Writer, who has charged them with falsehood and misrepresentation; not in any of the facts, which they contain, but in the conclusions, deduced from those facts, to the dishonor of his Church. Your Lordship, who in every part of Your life, has distinguished Yourself, by a just zeal against the Popish interest, thought it necessary for me, to take notice of an author, who has the hardiness to revive an exploded cause, and to publish an elaborate defense of the Romish Church in our very Metropolis. Thus far however he must be allowed to act like a generous adversary, in referring the merit of his argument to the trial of the Press; which in all countries, where it can have it's free course, will ever be found the surest guardian

of right and truth; and to which this particular country, among the many great blessings, which it enjoys, is manifestly indebted for one of the greatest, *it's deliverance from a Popish Slavery*; as all our Histories testify, from the Reformation, down to this day. In the very infancy of printing amongst us, *Cardinal Wolsey* forefaw this effect of it; and in a Speech to the Clergy, publicly forewarned them, that, *if they did not destroy the Press, the Press would destroy them.*

If my endeavours therefore should be of any service towards verifying the Cardinal's prediction; or should in any degree answer Your Lordship's views, of giving some check to the restless spirit of *Rome*, which, how often soever repulsed, will always be renewing it's attacks, I shall gain the end, that I propos'd by them. But while I was flattering myself with this hope, and fancying myself engaged in a laudable attempt, of disarming these profess'd enemies of our religion and liberty; there were some, as Your Lordship knows, even of our own Church, whose displeasure I incurred, and whose resentment I have felt, on the account of this very work: who, from the different motives of party, or envy, or prejudices hastily conceived against me, were ready to join in any clamor, that could blast the credit of my performance. To such of these, as profess to act from any good principle, I have endeavour'd to give some satisfaction in my Preface; but my chief comfort

fort is, in this decline of life, that I can appeal to Your Lordship, who knew me from the beginning of it; and under all the attempts to depress my character, and all the suspicions of those, who were strangers to it, continued still to treat me with all the usual marks of Your friendship, as believing me incapable of harbouring any thought, or pursuing any design, which could be injurious to virtue, and true religion.

For Your Lordship had always too enlarged and liberal a way of thinking, to judge of men or things, by the narrow views or prejudices of a party; and superior to all the impressions of envy or spleen, was ever ready to encourage merit, wheresoever You observed it. This has been Your constant rule of acting in the University; where, as a Governor of our Youth, You have lived an example of that discipline, which You enjoined to others; punctual in discharging all the duties of Your Station; nor more forward to prescribe, than diligent to perform every thing, that tended to promote religion, good manners, and good learning.

These same qualities, which now exert themselves in a higher sphere, are acknowledged by the general voice of the Diocese, over which You preside: where all people loudly celebrate Your Lordship's unwearied application to the labors of Your Episcopal charge; Your continual care, as a common Pastor of all, to extend the benefits of it equally to all; Your beneficence to

5 the

the poor, obliging behaviour to the rich; Your generous and hospitable table, open to all, who seek access to You; where You know, how to unite the character of the Gentleman, with that of the Prelate; to create an ease and chearfulness around You, and without descending from Your dignity, to enter into a familiarity with Your guests. By these arts, You have gained the affections both of Your Clergy and Laity; and in a country, unhappily divided into parties, have effected, what was hardly thought possible, an agreement of all parties in their esteem and praises of Your Lordship. By such happy fruits of Your prudence, Your affability, and your moderation in governing, You have shewn what are the most probable means of healing our public dissensions; and that the Church, in proportion as it has more such Bishops, will always have the fewer enemies.

That Your Lordship may long enjoy that peculiar vigor of mind and body, which has enabled You to discharge all the important offices, through which You have passed, with honor to Yourself and benefit to the public, is the sincere wish of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged

and faithful Servant,

CONYERS MIDDLETON.

Prefatory Discourse.

A Late writer of a *Popish* book, intituled, *The Catholic Christian instructed*, &c. has thought fit, in a preface to that work, to attempt a confutation of my *Letter from Rome*; “ which every reader, *he says*, whether Protestant or Papist, would expect, that he should take some notice of, as it is directly levelled at their ceremonies, and has been so well received, as to pass through three Editions within the compass of a few years.”

I cannot think it strange, that a man, whose avowed design and sole employment amongst us is, to make converts to the *Romish Church*, should treat a work with some acrimony, that was published with no other view, than to blast his hopes, and obstruct his endeavours, to delude the people of this nation: but it gives me a sensible pleasure to observe, what these Missionaries of *Rome* are forced to confess, that my little performance is a real obstacle to their designs; and that one of the first steps necessary towards advancing the *Popish* Interest in *England*, is to overthrow the credit both of the Letter, and it's Author.

Our *Catholic* therefore, in the execution of this task, sets out with a general Accusation against me of *foul play*, and *disingenuity*, and a resolution to suppress the truth; because my charge against them is grounded onely, he says, “ on certain ceremonies and observances of less moment, without taking notice of the substantial parts of their religion; their belief of the Scriptures; of
“ the

“ the three Creeds ; of the Trinity ; the Eucharist Sacrifice, &c.
 “ which none will pretend to be derived to them from the *Pagans*.” This is artfully thrown out, to confound the true state of the question ; and to prepossess the reader with a notion, that, instead of *Popery*, I am attacking Christianity itself, and sustaining the cause of Infidelity, not of Protestantism : but every man of sense will discern the fallacy, and observe, that it is *Popery* alone, with which I am engaged ; or that System of Ceremonies and doctrines, which is peculiar to the *Romish Church*, as distinguished from other Christian Churches : the source of which I have undertaken to lay open, and by an historical deduction of facts, to trace it's origin in a direct line, from *Pagan* down to *Papish Rome*.

In the farther support of this charge, I shall now procede to examine our Author's exceptions to it, in the order as they lie in his Preface, and vindicate all the particular proofs of it alledged in my Letter, to which he has thought proper to give any answer : the chief of which, as he tells us, are, “ Incense ; Holy Water ; “ Lamps and Candles ; Votive offerings ; Images ; Chapels on “ the wayfides and tops of Hills ; Processions ; Miracles [a].” On these I shall join issue with him ; and endeavour to shew, that his defence of them is not only frivolous and evasive, but tends rather to confirm, than to confute the inference which I have drawn from them.

As to several of these articles, he makes one general Apology ; that I “ am mistaken, in thinking every ceremony used by the “ Heathens, to be Heathenish, since the greatest part were borrowed from the worship of the true God ; in imitation of which,

[a] Pref. ib. p. 4.

“ the

“ the Devil affected to have his Temples, Altars, Priests, and “ Sacrifices, and all other things, which were used in the true “ worship.” This he applies to the case of *Incense, Lamps, Holy-water; and Processions*; and adds, “ that if I had been as well “ read in the Scriptures, as I would seem to be in the Heathen “ Poets, I should have found the use of all these in the Temple of “ God, and that by God’s appointment [b].”

I shall not dispute with him about the origin of these rites ; whether they were *first instituted by Moses*, or were of *prior use and antiquity among the Egyptians*. The Scriptures favour the last ; which our *Spenser* strongly asserts, and their *Calmet* and *Huetius* allow : but should we grant him all, that he can infer from his argument, what will he gain by it ? Were not all *those* *beggarly elements* wiped away by the spiritual worship of the Gospel ? Were they not all annulled, on the account of *their weakness and unprofitableness*, by the more perfect revelation of *Jesus Christ* [c] ? If then I should acknowledge my mistake, and recall my words ; and instead of *Pagan*, call them *Jewish* ceremonies, would not the use of *Jewish rites* be abominable still in a *Christian Church*, where they are expressly abolished and prohibited by God himself ?

But to pursue his argument a little farther : while the *Mosaic* worship subsisted by divine appointment in *Jerusalem*, the Devil likewise, as he tells us, *had Temples and Ceremonies of the same kind*, in order to draw Votaries to his Idolatrous worship : which, after the abolition of the *Jewish Service*, was carried on still with great pomp and splendor ; and, above all places, in *Rome*, the principal seat of his worldly Empire. Now it is certain, that in the early

[b] Pref. 5. 8.

[c] Galat. iv. 9. Heb. vii. 18.

A Prefatory Discourse

times of the Gospel, the Christians of *Rome* were celebrated for their zealous adherence to the faith of Christ, as it was delivered to them by the Apostles, pure from every mixture either of *Jewish* or *Heathenish* Superstition; till after a succession of ages, as they began gradually to deviate from that Apostolic simplicity, they introduced at different times into the Church the particular ceremonies in question. Whence then can we think it probable, that they should borrow them? From the *Jewish* or the *Pagan* ritual? From a Temple, remote, despised and demolished by the *Romans* themselves; or from Temples and Altars perpetually in their View, and subsisting in their streets; in which their Ancestors and Fellow-Citizens had constantly worshiped? The question can hardly admit any dispute: The humor of the people, as well as interest of a corrupted Priesthood would invite them, to adopt such rites, as were native to the soil, and found upon the place; and which long experience had shewn to be useful, to the acquisition both of wealth and power. Thus by the most candid construction of this Author's reasoning, we must necessarily call their ceremonies *Jewish*; or by pushing it to it's full length, shall be obliged to call them, *Devilish*.

Incense

He observes; that I begin my charge with the use of *Incense*, as the most notorious proof of their Paganism, and, *like an artfull Rhetorician, place my strongest argument in the front* [d]. Yet he knows, that I have assigned a different reason, for offering that the first: because it is *the first thing*, that strikes the senses, and surprises a stranger, upon his entrance into their Churches. But it shall be my strongest proof, if he will have it so, since he has brought nothing, I am sure, to weaken the force of it. He tells us, that there was *an Altar of Incense in the Temple of Jerusalem*;

[d] Pref. p. 5.

and

and is surprized therefore, how I can call it *Heathenish*: Yet it is evident, from the nature of that institution, that it was never designed to be perpetual; and that, during it's continuance, God would never have approved *any other Altar*, either in *Jerusalem*, or any where else. But let him answer directly to this plain question; was there ever *a temple in the world not strictly Heathenish*, in which there were *several Altars*, all *smoking with incense*, *without in one view, and at one and the same time*? It is certain that he must answer in the Negative: Yet it is as certain, that there were many such Temples in *Pagan Rome*; and are as many still in *Christian Rome*: and since there never was an example of it, but what was *Paganish*, before the times of *Popery*, how is it possible, that it could be derived to them from any other source? or when we see so exact a resemblance in the copy; how can there be any doubt about the original?

What he alledges therefore in favor of *incense*, is nothing to the purpose; "that it was used in the Jewish and is of great antiquity in the Christian Church; and that it is mentioned with honor in the scriptures;" which frequently *compare it to Prayer*, and speak of it's *sweet odors ascending up to God*; &c. which figurative expressions, he says, "would never have been borrowed by the sacred Penmen from Heathenish superstition [*e*]" : as if such allusions were less proper, or the thing itself less sweet, for it's being applied to the purposes of Idolatry; as it constantly was, in the times even of the *same Penmen*, and according to their own accounts, on the *Altars of Baal*, and the other *Heathen Idols*: and when *Jeremiah* rebukes the people of *Judab* for *burning incense to the Queen of heaven* [*f*], one can hardly help imagining, that he is

[*e*] Pref. p. 6.[*f*] Jerem. xliv. 17.

*Incense to the Queen
of Heaven.*

prophetically pointing out the worship now paid to *the Virgin*; to whom they actually *burn incense* at this day under that very title [g].

Tonsure.

But if it be a just ground for retaining a practice in *the Christian Church*, because it was enjoined to the *Jews*; what will our *Catholic* say for those usages, which were actually prohibited to the *Jews*, and never practised by any, but by the *Heathens and the Papists*?---All the *Agyptian Priests*, as *Herodotus* informs us, *had their heads shaved and kept continually bald* [b]. Thus the Emperor, *Commodus*, that he might be admitted into that order, *got himself shaved, and carried the God Anubis in procession* [i]. And it was on this account most probably, that the *Jewish Priests* were commanded, *not to shave their heads, nor to make any baldness upon them* [k]. Yet this *pagan rasure*, or *tonsure*, as they chuse to call it, on the crown of the head, has long been the distinguishing mark of *the Romish Priesthood*. It was on the same account, we may imagine, that the *Jewish Priests* were forbidden to make any cuttings in their flesh [l]; since that likewise was the common practice of certain *Priests and Devotees among the Heathens*, in order to acquire the fame of a more exalted sanctity. Yet the same discipline, as I have shewn in my *Letter*, is constantly practised at *Rome*, in some of their solemn seasons and processions, in imitation of those *Pagan Enthusiasts*: as if they searched the Scriptures to learn, not so much what was enjoined by the true religion, as what had

[g] Vid. Offic. Beatæ Virg. Salve Regina; Ave Regina cælorum; Domina Angelorum, &c.

[b] Herodot. l. ii. 36.

Qui grege linigero circumdatus, &
grege calvo. Juv. vi. 33.

[i] Sacra Ifidis coluit, ut & caput raderet & Anubin portaret. Lamprid. in Commod. 9.

[k] Levitic. xxi. 5. Ezech. xlv. 20.

[l] Levitic. xix. 28. xxi. 5.

been usefull at any time in a false one, to delude the multitude, and support an imposture.

Our Author makes the same apology for *Holy water*, that he has just made for *Incense*; that, in the *Mosaic law*, we find the mention of a water sanctified for religious uses; which cannot therefore be called *Heathenish*; and that I might, with as good a grace have proved the *Sacrament of Baptism* to be *Heathenish*, as their use of *Holy water* [m]. It is surprizing, to hear such a defense from any one, who calls himself a Christian. The *Sacrament of Baptism* was ordained by *Christ*, in the most solemn manner, and for the most solemn purpose, as the essential rite of our initiation into his Church; while there is not the least hint in any part of the Gospel, that any other water was either necessary, or proper, or usefull in any degree to the washing away of sin. But our Author's zeal seems to have carried him here beyond his prudence; and he forgets what ground he is treading, if he fancies, that he can defend, in this protestant country, what he might affirm with applause in a *popish*; that the institutions of *Christ* stand upon no better foundation, than the injunctions of the *Pope*, or at least of the *Popish Church*.

Jewish holy water

Baptism

I have mentioned one use of their *Holy water*, in a Festival at *Rome*, called the *Benediction of horses*, which seems to perplex him. He dares not deny the fact, yet labors to render it suspected, and declares; "that though he had spent the greatest part of his life abroad, he had never seen or heard of any such thing [n]." But whatever he thinks, or would seem rather to think of it, I know the thing to be true from the evidence of my own eyes: yet as I had no desire, that the reader should take my bare word for that, or any other fact in the Letter, I took care to add such tes-

Benediction of Horses.

[m] Pref. p. 7.

[n] Ib. p. 7.

timonies of it, as every one will allow to be authentic. But if he really be a stranger to so extraordinary a practice, he must be an improper advocate of a cause, of which he owns himself to be ignorant. The learned *Mabillon*, as I have observed, intimates his surprize at this, as well as many other parts of their worship, which he had never seen, till he travelled into *Italy*; but, instead of defending, chuses either to drop them in silence, or to give them up as superstitious: which might have been the case also of our *Catholic*, if he had been better informed of the facts, which he has undertaken to vindicate. But if these men of learning, and teachers of Religion, know so little of what is done at *Rome*, how easy must it be, to impose upon *the poor Catholics in England*, and keep them in the dark, as to the more exceptionable parts of their worship, which are openly avowed and practised abroad, to the scandal of all the candid, and moderate even of their own communion.

But though our *Catholic* seems so much ashamed at present of *this Benediction of Horses, in their Church*, I can give him such light into the origin of it, as will make him proud of it probably for the future; from a story, that I have observed in *St. Jerom*; which shews it to be grounded on a *miracle*, and derived from a *Saint*: I mean *St. Hilarion*; the founder of *the Monastic orders in Syria and Palestine* [o].

The story is this: “ a Citizen of *Gaza*, a Christian, who kept
 “ a Stable of running horses for *the Circensian games*, was always
 “ beaten by his Antagonist, an Idolater; the master of a rival

[o] *Necdum enim tunc Monasteria*
erant in Palestina, nec quisquam Mona-
chum ante Sanctum Hilarionem in Syria
noverat. Ille fundator & eruditor hujus

conversationis & studii in hac provincia
fuit. Hieron. Op. t. iv. par. ii. p. 78.
Ed. Ben.

“ stable. For the Idolater, by the help of certain charms, and
 “ diabolical imprecations, constantly, damped the spirits of the
 “ Christian’s horses, and added courage to his own. The Chris-
 “ tian therefore in despair, applied himself to St. *Hilarion*, and
 “ implored his assistance: but *the Saint* was unwilling to enter
 “ into an affair so frivolous and profane; till the Christian urging
 “ it as a necessary defence against these adversaries of God, whose
 “ insults were levelled not so much at him, as at the Church of
 “ Christ; and his entreaties being seconded by the Monks, who
 “ were present; the Saint ordered his earthen jogg, out of which
 “ he used to drink, to be filled with water and delivered to the
 “ man: who presently *sprinkled his Stable, his Horses, his Chariot-*
 “ *eers, his Chariot, and the very boundaries of the course with it.*
 “ Upon this, the whole City was in wondrous expectation: *the*
 “ *Idolaters* derided what the Christian was doing; while *the Chris-*
 “ *tians* took courage, and assured themselves of victory; till the
 “ signal being given for the race, the Christian’s horses seemed
 “ to fly whilst the Idolater’s were labouring behind, and left quite
 “ out of sight; so that *the Pagans* themselves were forced to cry
 “ out, *that their God Marnas was conquered at last by Christ* [p].”
 Thus this memorable Function, borrowed originally from the *Pa-*
gan Sprinklers of the Circensian games, appears to be as ancient al-
 most in the Church as *Monkery* itself, and one of the first inven-
 tions, for which *Popery* stands indebted to that religious in-
 stitution.

St. Hilarion.

As to *the Lamps and Candles*, which are constantly burning be-
 fore the Altars of their Saints, he tells us once more; “ that
 “ though the Devil had procured them to be set up in his Tem-
 “ ples, yet they were appointed originally by God for the service

Lamps, Candles.

[p] Ibid. p. 80.

Lamps from
Ægypt

Clemens
Eusebius.

Vigilantius

Jerom's
Heresy.

“ of his Tabernacle; and were not therefore borrowed from the
 “ Heathenish, but the Mosaic worship [q].” To which I need
 not repeat, what I have already said on the foregoing articles. I
 had deduced the origin of these lamps from *Ægypt*, upon the au-
 thority of *Clemens Alexandrinus*: but he declares, that *Clemens*
says no such thing: yet does not think fit to tell us, what it is that
 he has said, nor how near it approaches to the interpretation, which
 I have given of it. *Clemens* expressly ascribes *the invention of lamps*
to the Egyptians, in which he is followed by *Eusebius*, and since
 lamps were used in all the *Pagan Temples* from the earliest times,
 of which we have any notice, I take it for a necessary consequence,
 that the *Ægyptians* were the first, who made use of them likewise
 in their Temples. But let that be as it will, this at least is certain,
 that the use of them in Christian Churches was condemned by
 many of the *primitive Bishops and Presbyters*, as superstitious and
 Heathenish. But all these our *Catholic* makes no scruple to brand
 with the title of *Heretics* [r]; tho’ many of them, perhaps, might
 more truly be called, *the Protestants of the primitive Church*; par-
 ticularly *Vigilantius*; who, by all that I have been able to observe
 about him, incurred the Charge of *Heresy* for no other crime,
 than that of writing against “ Monkery; the Celibacy of the Clergy;
 “ praying for the dead; worshiping the reliques of Mar-
 “ tyrs; and lighting up candles to them, after the manner of the
 “ Pagans [s].” But St. *Jerom* has given the most rational defi-
 nition of *Heresy*, where he says; “ that those who interpret Scrip-
 “ ture to any sense, repugnant to that of the Holy Spirit, though
 “ they should never withdraw themselves from the Church, yet
 “ may be justly called Heretics [t].” By which Criterion, *the Ro-*

[q] Pref. p. 8.

[r] Pref. p. 13.

[s] Hieron. Oper. t. iv. part ii. p. 275,

282. Edit. Benedict. it. Cave's Hist. Li-
 ter. par. i.

[t] Hieron. ibid. par. i. p. 302.

miss Church will be found much more *Heretical*, than any of those, who, either in ancient or modern times, have separated themselves from it's communion on the account of it's doctrines.

My next instance of their *Paganism* is, the number of their *Donaria* or *Votive offerings*, hanging around the *Altars* of their *Saints*: where our Author, having nothing to alledge from Scripture, nor any example from antiquity, but what is purely *Heathenish*, is forced to change his tone, and to declare; "that things "innocent in themselves cannot be rendered unlawful, for "having been abused by the Heathens; and that it cannot be "disagreeable to the true God, that those, who believe themselves "to have received favours from him by the prayers of his Saints, "should make a publick acknowledgment of it [*u*]." But can a practice be called innocent, which is a confessed copy of paganish Superstition? which tends to weaken our dependence on God, and to place it on those, who are not probably in a condition, either to bear, or to help us [*x*]? which imprints the same veneration for the *Christian Saints*, that the *Pagans* paid to their *subordinate Deities*; and transfers the honor due to God, to the Altars of departed mortals? Such a worship, I say, so far from being innocent, must necessarily be condemned by all unprejudiced men, as profane and idolatrous; as it will more evidently appear to be, from our consideration of the next article, their *worship of Images*.

On this head, our Catholic pours out all his rage against me; charges me with "slander and misrepresentation, and notorious "untruths; says that I am no better friend to Christianity, than to "Popery; that I imitate the ancient Heretics, and copy my argu-

[*u*] Pref. p. 9.

[*x*] Ecclesiast. ix. 5, 6.

“ments from the Apostate *Julian* [y]:” by which he shews, in what manner he would silence me, if he had me under his discipline: but I can easily forgive his railing, while I find myself out of his power; and rejoice, that we live in a country, where he can use a liberty, which no *Popish* Government would indulge to a Protestant. The ground of all this clamor, is, my treating their *Image-worship, as Idolatrous*: yet he does not pretend to contradict my facts, but the inference onely, that I draw from them; and since he cannot overthrow my premises, is the more enraged at my conclusion.

Idols

I had defined *Idols*, upon the authority of *St. Jerom*, to be *Images of the dead*: where he is simple enough to imagine, that I included in my definition, *all images and pictures whatsoever of the dead*; and calls it therefore *a brat of my own, which I falsely father upon St. Jerom* [z]. Yet every man must see, that I could mean no other *images*, but such, as I was there treating of; such, as had *Temples, Altars and a religious worship* instituted to them; for such are all the *Images of the Popish Church*; and of all *such Images of the dead*, I shall affirm again with *St. Jerom*, that they are true and proper *Idols*.

It is not my present design to enter into a formal discussion of the nature of Idolatry; which according to every sense of it, as our Divines have fully demonstrated, is now exercised in *Popish Rome*, upon the very same principles, on which it was formerly practised in *Pagan Rome*. The purpose of the following *Letter* is, to illustrate this argument by the more sensible evidence of fact; and, in spite of the cavils and evasive distinctions of their Schools, to shew *their worship of Images or of Saints*, call it which they will,

[y] Pref. p. 13.

[z] Pref. p. 10.

to be properly and actually idolatrous. But our Author defines *Idols*, "to be such Images onely, as are set up for Gods, and "honored as such; or in which some divinity or power is believed "to reside by their worshippers; who accordingly offer prayers "and sacrifice to them, and put their trust in them [a]." Such, says he, were the *Idols of the Gentiles*: and such, I shall venture to say, are the *Idols of the Papists*. For what else can we say of those *miraculous Images*, as they are called, in every great Town of *Italy*, but that some *Divinity* or *Power* is universally believed to reside in them? Are not all their people persuaded, and do not all their books testify, that these Images have sometimes moved themselves from one place to another; have wept, talked, and wrought many miracles? And does not this necessarily imply an extraordinary power residing in them? In the high street of *Loretto*, which leads to the *Holy House*, the shops are filled with *Beads*, *Crucifixes*, *Agnus Dei's*, and all the trinkets of *Papish* manufacture; where I observed *printed certificates*, or testimonials, affixed to each shop, declaring all their toys to have been touched by the blessed Image: which certificates are provided for no other purpose, but to humor the general persuasion, both of the buyer and the seller, that some virtue is communicated by that touch, from a power residing in the Image.

Miraculous Images.

Loretto.
Beads, Crucifixes, Agnus Dei's,
touched by the Virgin.

In one of the Churches of *Lucca*, they shew an Image of the *Virgin with the Child of Jesus* in her arms, of which they relate this Story, "That a blaspheming Gamester, in rage and despair, "took up a stone and threw it at the Infant; but the Virgin, to "preserve him from the blow, which was levelled at his head, "shifted him instantly from her right arm into the left, in which "he is now held; while the blasphemer was swallowed up by

Lucca.
Virgin and Child

[a] Pref. p. 11.

“the earth upon the spot ; where the hole, which they declare
 “to be unfathomable, is still kept open and enclosed only with a
 “grate, juſt before the Altar of the Image. The Virgin how-
 “ever received the blow upon her ſhoulder, whence the blood
 “preſently iſſued, which is preſerved in a Cryſtal, and produced,
 “with the greateſt ceremony, by the Prieſt in his veſtments, with
 “tapers lighted, while all the company kiſs the ſacred relique on
 “their knees [b].” Now does not the attestation of this miracle
 naturally tend to perſuade people, that there is an *actual power*
reſiding in the Image, which can defend itſelf from injuries, and
 inflict vengeance on all, who dare to inſult it ?

St. Dominic. One of the moſt celebrated *Images in Italy* is that of *St. Dominic*,

of Surriano in Calabria, which, as their hiſtories teſtify, was brought
 down from heaven about two centuries ago, by *the Virgin Mary* in
 perſon, accompanied by *Mary Magdalene* and *St. Catharine*. Be-
 fore this glorious picture, as they affirm, “great numbers of the
 “dead have been reſtored to life, and hundreds from the agonies
 “of death ; the dumb, the blind, the deaf, the lame have been
 “cured, and all ſorts of diſeaſes and mortal wounds miraculoſly
 “healed :” all which facts are atteſted by publick Notaries ; and
 confirmed by the relations of Cardinals, Prelates, Generals and
 Priors of that Order ; and the certainty of them ſo generally believed,
 that from the 9th of *July* to the 9th of *Auguſt*, the anniversary
 Feſtival of the Saint, they have always counted *above a hundred*
thouſand Pilgrims, and many of them of the higheſt quality, who
 come from different parts of *Europe*, to pay their devotions, and
 make their offerings to this picture [c].

100000 Pilgrims

Aringhus.

Aringhus, touching upon this ſubject, in his elaborate account of
ſubterraneous Rome, obſerves ; “that *the Images of the bleſſed Virgin*

[b] See Mr. *Wright's Travels* at
Liſſa,

[c] *La vie de St. Dominic*, p. 599.
 4to. à Paris. 1647. it. p. 602.

" shine out continually by new and dayly miracles, to the comfort of
 " their votaries, and the confusion of all gainsayers. Within these
 " few years, says he, under every Pope successively, some or other
 " of our sacred Images, especially of the more ancient, have made
 " themselves illustrious, and acquired a peculiar worship and vene-
 " ration by the exhibition of fresh signs; as it is notorious to all,
 " who dwell in this City. But how can I pass over in silence the
 " Image of St. *Dominic*; so conspicuous at this day for it's never
 " ceasing miracles; which attract the resort and admiration of the
 " whole Christian world. This picture, which, as pious tradition
 " informs us, was brought down from heaven, about the year of
 " our redemption, 1530, is a most solid bulwark of the Church
 " of Christ, and a noble monument of the pure faith of Christians,
 " against all the impious opposers of Image worship. The vene-
 " rable Image is drawn indeed but rudely, without the help of
 " art or pencil; sketched out by a celestial hand; with a book
 " in it's right, and a lily in it's left hand; of a moderate stature,
 " but of a grave and comely aspect; with a robe reaching down to
 " the heels. Those who have written it's history, assert, that the
 " Painters, in their attempts to copy it, have not always been able
 " to take similar copies; because it frequently assumes a different
 " air, and rays of light have been seen by some to issue from it's
 " countenance; and it has more than once removed itself from one
 " place to another. The Worship therefore of this picture is be-
 " come so famous through all Christendom, that multitudes of
 " people, to the number of *a hundred thousand and upwards*, flock
 " annually to pay their devotions to it, on the Festival of the Saint;
 " and though it be strange, which I have now related, yet what I
 " am going to say is still stranger, that not onely *the original picture*,
 " made not by human, but by heavenly hands, is celebrated for
 " it's dayly miracles, but even *the Copy* of it, which is piously
 " preserved

Images of the Virgin

100,000 Pilgrims.

*The Hindoos have not
more to the Ganges
or Temple of Suggernaut.*

“ preserved in this City, in the Monastery called *St. Mary’s above the Minerva*, is famous also in these our days for it’s perpetual “ signs and wonders, as the numberless votive offerings hanging “ around it, and the bracelets and jewels which adorn it testify [d].”

All their Apologists indeed declare, what our Catholic also says on this head, “ that they do not ascribe these miracles to any “ power in the Image itself, but to the power of God, who is “ moved to work them by the prayers and intercession of his Saints, “ for the benefit of those, who have sought that intercession before “ their pictures or Images; and in order to bear testimony to the “ faith and practice of the Church in this particular article [e].” But how can we think it possible, that the Deity can be moved to exert his power so wonderfully for the confirmation of such ridiculous stories, *of pictures and statues sent down from heaven*; which while they blasphemously impute to the workmanship of *Saints or Angels, or of God himself* [f], are yet always so rudely and contemptibly performed, that a moderate artist on earth would be ashamed to call them his own? Or is it at all credible, that the Saints in heaven should be as busy and ambitious, as their votaries are on earth, to advance the peculiar honors of their several altars, by their continual intercessions at the throne of grace? Or that their whole care above, if they really have any, which reaches to things below, should be employed, not for the general advancement of religion and piety among men, but of their own private glory and worship, in preference to all their competitors? No; the absurdity of such notions and practices makes it necessary to

[d] Aring. Roma Subterranea. tom. ii. p. 464. § 13.
251. [f] Imaginem θεότευκτον. Euagr.

[e] Cathol. Christ. p.

believe,

believe, that they were all occasionally forged for the support of some lucrative scheme; or to revive the expiring credit of some favorite superstition, which had been found highly beneficial to the contrivers of such forgeries. For the very effect, of which they boast, as a proof of the miracle, betrays the fraud; and *the multitude of pilgrims and offerings*, to which they appeal, instead of demonstrating the truth of the fact, does but expose the real ground of the imposture.

But to return to my Antagonist: if we should ask him once more, whether there ever was a Temple in the world, not purely heathenish, in which there were *any Images, erected on altars*, for the purpose of any religious worship whatsoever; he must be obliged to answer in the negative. He would be forced likewise to confess, that there were many such Temples in *Pagan Rome*, and particularly *the Pantheon*, which remains still in *Christian Rome*; on whose numerous altars as there formerly stood *the Images* of as many *Pagan Divi or Idols*, so there are now standing *the Images* of as many *Popish Divi or Saints*; to whom the *present Romans* pay their vows and offer prayers, as their inclinations severally lead them to this or that particular Altar: And no man will pretend to say, that there is not *the greatest conformity* between the present and the ancient Temple; or that it would not be difficult to furnish out a private room more exactly to the taste of *the old Romans*, than this *Popish Church* stands now adorned with all the furniture of their *old Paganism*.

Pantheon

We are informed by *Plato*, that there were *Images* in the Temples of *Ægypt* from the earliest antiquity [g]: And it appears evidently from Scripture, that they subsisted there, as well as in *Palestine*,

Plato
Ægypt.

[g] Plat. de Legib. l. ii. p. 656. Max. Tyr. Diss. 38.

before

A Prefatory Discourse

before the time of *Moses*. The strict prohibition of them therefore to *the Jews*, while several other rites of the *Heathens* were indulged to them, in condescension to their peculiar circumstances and carnal affections, carries a strong intimation, that *Images* are of all things the most dangerous to true religion; as tending naturally to corrupt it, by introducing Superstition and Idolatry into the worship of God. The *Christian Emperors*, as I have intimated in my Letter, strictly prohibited their *Pagan Subjects*, to *light up candles, offer incense, or hang up garlands to senseless Images*: For these were then reckoned the notorious acts of genuin *Paganism*? Yet we now see all these very acts performed every day in *Popish countries to the Images of the Popish Saints*. In a word, since there never was an *Image* in the Temple of the true God, in any age of the world, yet a perpetual use of them in all the Temples of *the Heathens*, it is in vain to dispute about their origin; the thing is evident to a demonstration; they must necessarily be derived to *the present Romans*, from those, who always used, and not from those, who always detested them; that is, from their *Pagan*, not their *Christian Ancestors*. They may quibble therefore as long as they please; and talk of *their Decrees and Canons*, contrived to amuse the public, and elude the arguments of Protestants, by subtle and specious distinctions; while every Traveller, who sees what passes at the Shrine of any *celebrated Saint, or miraculous Image in Italy*, will be convinced by Ocular demonstration, that their people are trained, instructed, and encouraged to believe, that there is a *divinity or power residing in those Images*, and that they actually *offer up prayers and put their trust in them*.

For if there is no such belief amongst them, as this *Catholic* affirms, for what purpose do they expose *those Images*, so solemnly, and carry them about *processionally*, on all occasions of public distress?

distress? Is there any charm in a block of wood or stone, to produce rain, or avert a pestilence? Or, can *senseless Images* have any influence towards moving the Will of God? No; their Priests are not so silly as to imagine it: the sole end of producing them is, not to move God, but the populace; to persuade the deluded multitude, that there is a power in the Image, that can draw down blessings upon them from Heaven: A doctrine, that repays all their pains of inculcating it, by a perpetual supply of wealth to the treasury of the Church. This therefore, as it appears from undeniable facts, is the universal belief of all *Popish* Countries; grounded, as they all assert, on the evidence of perpetual miracles, wrought by the particular agency of these *sacred Images*, of which I could produce innumerable instances from their own books.

In a Collegiate Church of regular Canons, called *St. Mary of Impruneta*, about six miles from *Florence*, there is a *miraculous picture of the Virgin Mary*, painted by *St. Luke*, and held in the greatest veneration through all *Tuscany*: Which, as oft as that State happens to be visited by any calamity, or involved in any peculiar danger, is sure to be brought out, and carried in procession through the streets of *Florence*; attended by the Prince himself, with all the Nobility, Magistrates, and Clergy; where it has never failed to afford them present relief in their greatest difficulties. In testimony of which they produce authentic acts and records, confirmed by public Inscriptions, setting forth all the particular benefits miraculously obtained from each procession; and the several offerings made on that account to the *Sacred Image*, for many centuries past, down to these very times; from the notoriety of which facts it became a proverb over *Italy*, that the *Florentines*

Painting of Luke.

Florentine Madonna, bad got a *Madonna*, which did for them, whatever they pleased [b].

Among the numerous Inscriptions of this sort, there is one in the Church of *Impruneta*, to this effect; "That the sacred Image " being carried with solemn pomp into *Florence*, when it was " visited by a pestilence for three years successively, and received " with pious zeal by the great Duke, *Ferdinand II*, and the whole " body of the people, who came out to meet it, and having " marched about the City for three days in procession, the fierceness of the pestilence began miraculously to abate, and soon " after intirely ceased. Upon which the Magistrates of health, by " a general vow of the Citizens, made an offering of ten thousand " ducats of gold, to be employed in providing portions for twenty " young women of *Impruneta* to be disposed of annually in marriage, and placed that Inscription as a Monument of so signal a " benefit, A. D. 1633. [i]."

Inscription

During the time of these processions, they always inscribe certain hymns, or prayers, or elogiums of the Virgin, over the doors and other conspicuous places of each Church, where the Image reposes itself for any time; in order to raise the devotion of the people towards the sacred object before them. In a procession made A. D. 1711, the following Inscription was placed over the principal gate of one of their great Churches.—"The Gate of " celestial benefit. The Gate of Salvation. Look up to the " Virgin Herself. Pass into me, all ye who desire me. Whosoever shall find me, will find life and draw Salvation from the

[b] Vid. *Memorie Istoriche della Miracolosa Immagine, &c.* in *Firen.* 1714. 4to. passò in proverbio per tutta l'Italia; che i Fiorentini hanno una *Madonna*, che fa à lor modo. ib. p. 85.
[i] Ibid. p. 202.

" Lord.

“Lord. For there is no one, who can be saved, O most Holy Virgin, but through Thee. There is no one who can be delivered from evils, but through Thee. There is no one, from whom we can obtain mercy, but through Thee.”—In the conclusion are these expressions.—“*Mary* indeed opens the bosom of her mercy to all; so that the whole Universe receives out of her fullness. The Captive, redemption; the Sick, a cure; the Sad, comfort; the Sinner, pardon; the Just, grace; the Angel, joy; the whole Trinity, glory [k].” Now what can we say of a devotion so extravagant, and blasphemous, but that it is a revival of the old *Herefy of the Collyridians*; maintained by a *sect of silly women*; who fell into their foolish error or madness, as *Epiphanius* calls it, *through an excess of zeal towards the blessed Virgin*, whom they resolved to advance into a *Goddeß*, and to introduce the worship of Her as such into the Christian Church [l].

Collyridians.

I cannot dismiss the story of *this wonderful picture*, without giving the reader some account of its origin, as it is delivered by their writers, not grounded, as they say, on vulgar fame, but on publick records, and histories, confirmed by a perpetual series of miracles.—“When the Inhabitants of *Impruneta* had resolved to build a Church to the Virgin, and were digging the foundations

[k] Janua cœlestis beneficii. Janua Salutis. Ipsam Virginem attendite. Transite ad me omnes qui concupiscitis me.—Qui me invenerit, inveniet vitam et hauriet salutem a Domino. Nemo enim est qui salvus fiat, O Sanctissima, nisi per Te. Nemo est qui liberetur a malis nisi per te. Nemo est cujus misereatur gratia nisi per Te.—

Maria profecto omnibus misericordiz finem aperit, ut de plenitudine ejus accipiant Universi. Captivus redemptionem,

Æger curationem, Tristis consolationem, Peccator veniam, Justus gratiam, Angelus lætitiā, tota Trinitas gloriam. Ibid. 234.

[l] Οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ τῶτο διδάσκαλοις τίνες εἰσι, ἀλλ' ἡ γυναῖκες; — Καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ὁ Διάβολος ἐξεμεῖν. Epiph. adv. Hær. Vol. I. p. 1058. Edit. Par. 1622. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ταύτην παρεισάγειν ἐσθλακίτας, ἢ ἐσθλαζήντας, &c. ibid. p. 1054.

D 2

“ of

“ of it with great zeal, on a spot marked out to them by heaven ;
 “ one of the laborers happened to strike his pickax against some-
 “ thing under ground, from which there issued presently a com-
 “ plaining voice or groan. The workmen, being greatly amazed,
 “ put a stop to their work for a while, but having recovered their
 “ spirits after some pause, they ventured to open the place, from
 “ which the voice came, and found the miraculous Image [m].”
 This calls to my mind a *Pagan* Story, of the same stamp, and in the
 same country, preserved to us by *Cicero*, concerning the origin of Di-
 vination. “ That a man being at plough in a certain field of *Etru-*
ria, and happening to strike his plough somewhat deeper than
 “ ordinary, there started up before him out of the furrow, a Deity,
 “ whom they called *Tages*. The ploughman, terrified by so strange
 “ an apparition, made such an outcry, that he alarmed all his
 “ neighbours, and in a short time drew the whole country around
 “ him ; to whom the God, in the hearing of them all, explained
 “ the whole art and mystery of divination : which all their writers
 “ and records affirmed, to be the genuin origin of that discipline,
 “ for which the old *Tuscans* were afterwards so famous.” Now
 these two stories forged at different times in the same country, and
 for the same end of supporting an Idolatrous worship, bear such a
 resemblance to each other, that every one will see the one to have
 been a bungling imitation of the other ; and we may say of *the*
Popish Madonna, what *Cicero* says of *the Pagan Tages*, *that none*
can be so silly as to believe that a God was ever dug out of the ground ;
and that an attempt to confute such stories would be as silly as to be-
lieve them [n]. My design therefore in collecting them was not, so
 much to expose the folly of them to my Protestant readers, as to
 admonish our Papists, by unquestionable facts and instances, drawn
 from the present practice of *Rome*, into what a labyrinth of folly

Cicero

Tages.

[m] Ibid. p. 53. &c.

[n] Cic. de Divin. ii. 23.

and impiety their principles will naturally lead them, when they are pushed to their full length, and exerted without reserve or restraint; and to lay before them the forgeries and impostures *Forgeries, Impostures.* which are practised in their Church, to support the absurd doctrines, which she imposes, as the necessary terms of Catholic communion.

But their constant method of recurring to different Saints in their different exigencies, is nothing else, as many writers have observed, but an exact copy of the *Pagan* superstition, grounded, on a popular belief, that their Saints, like the old *Dæmons*, have *Dæmons* each their *distinct provinces*, or *præfectures*, assigned to them; some over particular countries, cities, societies, and even the different trades of men; others over the several diseases of the body, or the mind; others over the winds, the rain, and various fruits of the earth [a]. So that God's rebuke to the Apostatizing *Jews*, is full as applicable to the *Papists*, for committing *whoredoms with their Idols*, and saying, *I will go after my lovers, who give me my bread and my water; my wooll and my flax; mine oil and my drink—for they did not know, that I gave them their corn and wine and oil, and multiplied their silver and gold, which they prepared for Baal* [p].

Our *Catholic* proceeds to affirm, that all the devotion paid to their Saints extends no farther, than to desire their prayers, and that the pictures and Images of them, which we see in their Churches, are no more than mere memorials, designed to express the esteem, which they retain for the persons so represented; or as helps to raise their affections to heavenly things; and that every child amongst them knows this

[a] Orig. con. Cels. 8. p. 339. See p. 112. &c.
Conformity of anc. and mod. ceremon. [p] Hosea ii. 5, 7.

to be true [q]. Yet I have demonstrated, from their public Incriptions, as well as the explicit testimonies of their writers, that those Images are placed by them in their Churches, as the proper objects of religious adoration; and that they ascribe to their *Divi*, or *Saints*, who are represented by them, the very same titles, powers and attributes, which the *Heathens* ascribed to their *Deities*; invoking them as *Tutelary Divinities*; as *presiding over their Temples*, and the *affairs of men*, as most powerfull, invincible, and always ready to help and relieve their votaries [r]. All which is confirmed by the constant stile of their prayers, and the express language of their *Liturgies*, *Missals* and *Breviaries*, set forth at *Rome* by public authority: in which the *Virgin* is called, the *mother of mercy*, *Hope of the world*, the *only trust of Sinners*; and the *Saints* addressed to under the titles of *Intercessors*, *Protectors* and *Dispensers of Grace*. *Maldonatus* calls it an *impious and silly error of the Protestants*, to think that no religious worship is due to any, but to *God*. And some of their *expurgatory Indexes* go so far, as to expunge all those passages of the *Primitive Fathers*, which teach, that creatures ought not to be adored [s].

{*Expurgatory Indexes*

Marolles.

The *Abbot de Marolles* relates a conversation, in which he was once engaged, with a *Capuchin*, who had been employed in several missions, and a celebrated Preacher of *France*; in the presence of an *Hugonot Gentleman*; for whose sake the *Abbot* took occasion to speak of *Images* in the same moderate strain, in which our *Catholic* thinks fit to treat them in his present address to Protestants; "That they were placed in their Churches, not for the "people to adore, or put their trust in them, but to edify their

[c] Pref. p. 9, 10, 12.

[r] See Letter, p. 42, 43.

[s] *Salve Regina*; *Mater misericordiae*, *vita*, *dulcedo*, & *spes nostra*, *salve*.

Ad Te clamamus, exules filii Evæ, &c.

Offic. Beat. Virg. Maldonat. in Mat. v.

35. *Index Expurgat. Madrid 1612.*

“ senses, by the representation of holy things. But the *Abbot's* discourse gave offence both to *the Frier and the Preacher* ; they insisted on a higher degree of veneration, urged the stories of their *miraculous Images*, and the extraordinary devotion that was paid by the Pope, the Bishops, and the whole Church to some of them, which had been known to speak, or were brought down from heaven, or made by the hands of Apostles and Angels ; or had been consecrated on the account of some *particular Virtues*, and were carried for that reason in processions, and worshipped on Altars, as well as the sacred reliques ; whose miracles could not be contested by any, but *obstinate Hereticks*, who would sooner renounce the testimony of their senses, than be convinced of their errors. In short ; the Capuchin declared, that the authority of the Church was the sole rule of faith ; and that to resist it, was a manifest rebellion, and worthy of the last punishment [†].” And this opinion after all, maintained by the *Frier*, is the genuin notion of *Image-worship*, which prevails at this day in the *Romish Church*, and especially in *Italy*, as I have fully demonstrated by the facts above recited.

[†] Mais tout ce discours ne plut pas encore au Religieux, ni mesmes à M. Herlaut, qui vouloit quelque chose de plus ; pour preuve de quoy, l'un & l'autre mirent en avant les Images miraculeuses, & marquerent mesmes les respects extraordinaires, que le S. Pere, les Evêques, & toute l'Eglise rendent à quelques unes, qui ont parlé, ou qui sont descendues du Ciel, ou qui ont été façonnées de la propre main des Apostres, & des Anges, ou qui sont consacrées pour *quelque vertu particuliere*, lesquelles à cause de cela se portent en procession & sont

reverées sur les Autels, aussi bien que les saintes Reliques, dont les miracles ne peuvent estre contestez, que par les Heretiques opiniaftres, qui combattent mesmes le tefmoignage des sens, quand il s'agit de la conviction de leur erreur — Le Capucin estima, qu'il falloit defendre tout ce qui l'Eglise reçoit ; — que cela seul estoit la regle de la foy : & que ce seroit une rebellion manifeste d'y resister ; ce qui ne seroit digne de rien moins, que du dernier chastiment. — Memoires de M. de Marolles, par. i. p. 146.

I have

I have said in my *Letter*, that several of the ancient Heroes were more worthy of veneration, than some of the modern Saints, who have dispossessed them of their Shrines; and that I should sooner pay divine honors to the Founders of Empires than to the Founders of Monasteries. This our Author aggravates into a heavy charge against me; as if I were offended, to see the *Heathen Temples converted into Christian Churches*, and had actually preferred the *Pagan Deities*, before the *Martyrs of Christ* [u]. Where, according to his custom, he either widely mistakes, or willfully misrepresents my meaning; for as to the *genuin Saints and Martyrs of the Christian Church*, that is, all those, who, in past ages, have lived agreeably to the rules of the Gospel, or died in the defence of it, I reverence them as highly, as they ought to be revered by any Christian, yet shall never be induced to worship them: I consider them as illustrious proofs of the excellence of the Christian doctrine; and shining examples of piety and fortitude to all succeeding ages. But as for the *Papish Saints*, I believe several of them to be wholly fictitious; many more to have spent their lives contemptibly; and some of them even wickedly: And out of these three Classes, let our Author chuse where he will; out of the *fictitious, the contemptible, or the wicked*; I shall venture to affirm once more, that I would sooner worship *Romulus*, or *Antonine*, than any of them: sooner pay my devotion to the *Founders*, than to the *disturbers of kingdoms*: sooner to the *Benefactors*, than to the *persecutors of mankind*; and this is the whole, that I have ever meant.

But our Author calls it a notorious falsehood to say, “that many
“ of their Saints were never heard of but in their Legends; or

[u] Pref. p. 12, 13.

[x] Pref. p. 14,

“ had

“ had no other merit but of throwing kingdoms into convulsions, “ for the sake of some gainfull imposture [x]:” Yet I have produced several instances of the first sort, which every reasonable man must think decisive; in the case of *Evodia*, *St. Viar*, *Amphibolus*, *Veronica*: but *no such Saints*, he says, *were ever honored in their Church*: by which he means nothing more, as he himself explains it, than, that they never were *formally canonized*, and *entered into the Roman Martyrology* [y]; which is nothing to the purpose; since, as I have shewn from unquestionable authority, they were all honored with *Altars and Images*, and *openly worshipped in Catholic Countries*, as *Saints and Martyrs*; and that *Veronica* in particular, though the name onely of a *picture*, was advanced into a *person*, by the Authority of *Pope Urban*; and placed as such upon an Altar, in the face of all Christendom, in *St. Peter’s at Rome* [z]. Yet all men, who know any thing of History, either sacred or profane, must necessarily be convinced, that the whole story, not onely of the *Saint*, but of the *picture also*, which they expose on certain Festivals with the greatest pomp, and for the original of which different Cities contend, is a mere cheat and forgery.

Veronica

It is a thing confessed, and lamented by the gravest of their own Communion, that the names and worship of *many pretended Saints*, who never had a real existence, had been fraudulently imposed upon the Church. The celebrated Dr. *John de Launoy* was famous for clearing the Calendar of several, who had long been worshipped in *France*, as the *Tutelary Divi* of some of their principal Towns: so that it used to be said of him, “ that there never “ passed a year, in which he did not pluck a Saint out of Para- “ dise [a].” In the *Catacombs of Rome*, which, in the times of Heathenism, was the burial place of the Slaves, and poorer Citizens,

Launoy

[x] Pref. p. 14.

[y] Pref. p. 14, 15.

[z] See Letter, p. 38, 39.

[a] Bayle Dict. in LAUNOY.

Montfaucon

Mabillon.

and where the bones of *Pagans and Christians* lie jumbled promiscuously together, if they happen to find *a little vial, or piece of glass tinged with red*, at the mouth of any particular hole, they take it presently, as the learned *Montfaucon* informs us, for a certain proof of *Martyrdom*; and, by the help of the next inscription, that they can pick up from some neighbouring Grave-stone, presently create a *new Saint and Martyr to the Popish Church*. *Mabillon*, as I have observed, wishes, “that they would be more scrupulous on this head; and not forge so many fabulous stories of Saints, without any certain name; nor impose Paganish inscriptions for Christian upon the Church [b].”

Our *Catholic* himself, in this very work, where he is labouring to give the most specious turn to every part of their worship, is forced to allow such a confusion and jumble among the *Martyrs and their reliques*, as approaches very nearly to what I am now affirming: he says, “that many of their Saints having born the same name, it easily happens, that the reliques, which belong to one, are attributed to another, and that there are many ancient Martyrs, whose names at present are unknown, yet whose reliques have all along been honored in the Church; and that it was easy for the ignorance of some, or the vanity of others, to attribute to them the names of other Saints [c].” *The old Athenians* were called *superstitious* by the Apostle, for erecting an *Altar to the unknown God*; but our *Papists*, we see, by their own confession, erect *Altars to unknown Saints, and unknown reliques*.

Upon the mention of these *reliques*, I cannot help observing, that *the superstitious veneration and solemn translations* of them,

[b] Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 225.

[c] Cathol. Christian, p. 246.

which

which make so great a part of *the Popish* worship, afford another instance of a practice clearly derived to them from Paganism ; the whole process and ceremonial of which, as it is exercised at this day, may be seen in *Plutarch's* account of *the translation of the bones of Theseus*, from the Isle of *Scyrus* to *Athens* : and as this resolution was first suggested to the *Athenians* by an Apparition of *Theseus* himself, and enjoined to them afterwards by *the Delphick Oracle* ; so *the discovery and translation of their reliques in the Romish Church*, are usually grounded on some pretended *vision or revelation* from heaven.

Bones of Theseus,

“ When *Cimon* then had conquered the Island of *Scyrus*, where
 “ *Theseus* died, being very solicitous, as *Plutarch* relates, to find
 “ out the place, where he lay buried, and unable to procure any
 “ information about it, he happened to espy an eagle upon a rising
 “ ground, pecking the earth with it's beak and tearing it up with
 “ its talons ; and conceiving this to be a divine omen and sign to
 “ him, he began immediately to dig, and found the coffin of a
 “ man of more than ordinary size, with a brazen lance and sword
 “ lying by him ; all which he took away with him into his Gal-
 “ ley, and transported to *Athens* ; where the whole body of the
 “ people, upon notice of his arrival, came out to receive the *sacred*
 “ *reliques*, in a solemn and pompous procession, performing public
 “ sacrifices and expressing all the same marks of joy, as if *Theseus*
 “ himself had been returning to them alive. They interred his
 “ bones in the midst of the City, where his Sepulchre is still a
 “ Sanctuary for Slaves and the meaner Citizens ; *Theseus* having
 “ always been esteemed a particular Patron of the poor and distressed.
 “ The chief Festival, which they celebrate annually to his
 “ honor, is *the 8th of October* ; on which he returned victorious
 “ from *Crete* with the young Captives of *Athens*, yet they observe

Plutarch

“ likewise *the 8th* of every month, as a kind of inferior Holyday
 “ or memorial of him [d].

But to pursue the objections of our *Catholic*; he declares my account of *St. Oreste*, whose name I suppose to have been derived from the mountain *Soraële*, on which his *Monastery* now stands; to be ridiculous beyond measure: yet *Mr. Addison*, who was no ridiculous Author, has related it as a certain fact; which he borrowed probably from some of their own writers, or at least from some of the Antiquaries of *Rome*, among whom I heard the same story. But if the notion of *fictitious Saints*, be so notoriously false, as he asserts it to be, let him tell us, if he can, in what *History* we may find the acts of those very Saints, whom I have named, and whom their Church adopts as genuine, *St. Oreste*, *Baccho*, *Quirinus*, *Romula*, and *Redempta*, *Concordia*, *Nympha*, *Mercurius* [e].

Probably in the *Acta*
Sanctorum of the
Hollandists in 47
Volumes in *Folio*.

The creation of *Saints* is become as common almost, as the creation of Cardinals; there having seldom been a Pope, who did not add some to the Calendar. *Benedict XIIIth* canonized eight, in one Summer; and his Successor *Clement XIIth*, the last Pope, four more. During my stay at *Rome*, I saw the *Beatification* of one *Andrew Conti*, of the family of the Pope, then reigning, *Innocent XIIIth*; for this is another source of supplying fresh *Saints* to the Church; when to humor the ambition of the Pope, or the other Princes of that Communion, this honor is conferred on some of their name and family: and as there must be a testimony of miracles, wrought by every person so canonized or beatified, either when living or dead, so I was curious to inquire, what miracles were ascribed to this *beatified Andrew*; which I found to be nothing else, but a few contemptible stories, delivered down

[d] Plutar. in Thest. ad fin.

[e] See Letter, p. 37, 38.

by tradition, which shewed onely the weakness of the man, and the absurdity of believing, that God should exert his omnipotence for the production of such trifles [f].

As to the proof of miracles, which is essential to these *Canonizations*, every one will conceive, how easy it must be in a function, contrived to serve the interest of the Church, and the ambition of it's rulers, to procure such a testimonial of them, as will be sufficient for the purpose. In the *Deifications of ancient Rome*, the attestation also of a miracle was held necessary to the act. In the case of *Romulus*, one *Julius Proculus*, a man said to be of a worthy and upright character, took a solemn oath, "that *Romulus* himself appeared to him, and ordered him to inform the Senate, of his being called up to the assembly of the Gods, under the name of *Quirinus* [g];" and in the *Deifications of the Cæsars*, a testimony upon Oath, of an *Eagle's flying out of the funeral pile, towards heaven*, which was supposed to convey the soul of the de-

Romulus appeared to Proculus.

Eagles flew out of Cæsars Pile.

[f] The *Papists*, in their versions of the Scriptures into the modern tongues, have contrived, by various falsifications, to make them speak the language of their *Missals and Breviaries*, in order to sanctify their novel rites by the authority of the Apostles; and make the people believe, that they had been practised from the times even of the Gospel. Thus to countenance this practice of *beatifying or making Saints* in the church, they have rendered a passage of *St. James c. v. 11.* not as it ought to be, *Behold how we account those blessed*; but, *Behold how we BEATIFY those, who have suffered with constancy*: and in favour also of their *processions*; where it is said, *Heb. xi. 30*; *that the walls of Jericho fell down, after*

they compassed it about seven days: their versions render it, *after A PROCESSION of seven days around it*. And to give the better color to their trade of *Pilgrimages*, *St. Paul*, according to their versions, requires it, as the qualification of *a good widow, that she have lodged PILGRIMS*, *1 Tim. v. 10.* and *St. John* praises *Gaius*, for having *dealt faithfully with PILGRIMS*---3 *John ver. 5.* See a treatise entituled, *Papery an enemy to Scripture*, where the learned and ingenious Author, *Mr. Serces*, has given a large collection of these falsifications, made to support their several frauds and innovations.

[g] Vid. *Plutar. in vit. Romuli. Dionys. Halicar. l. ii. p. 124.*

ceased,

ceased, was *the established proof of their Divinity* [b]. Now as these *pagan Deifications* are the onely patterns in history, for *the Popish Canonizations*; so the invention of miracles is the single art, in which *modern Rome* is allowed to excell *the ancient*.

St Omers

Thomas Becket.

In *the Jesuit's College at St. Omer's*, the Father, who shewed us the House, happening to produce some *relique*, or memorial of *St. Thomas*, which he treated with much reverence, one of our company asked me, what *Thomas* he meant; upon which I unwarily said, "it is *Thomas Becket*, who is worshipped as a great Saint, "on this side of the water:" yes, Sir, replied the *Jesuit*, with a severe look, *if there is any faith in history, he deserves to be esteemed a Great Saint*. But I may venture to affirm in *England*, what I did not care to dispute in a *College of Jesuits*, that this celebrated *Thomas* had more of *the rebel*, than of *the Saint* in him; was a Prelate of a most daring, turbulent, seditious spirit; inflexibly obstinate, insatiably ambitious, intolerably insolent; whose violence *the Pope* himself endeavoured in vain to moderate; as it appears from such monuments, as *the Papists* themselves must allow to be authentick, a collection of *Becket's own Letters*, preserved still in *the Vatican*, and printed some years ago in *Brussels* [i].

[b] Dio. Cass. p. 598, 842.

[i] Prudentiam tuam monemus, consulumus & omnimodis exhortamur, ut — prænominato Regi in omnibus, & per omnia, salva honestate Ecclesiastici ordinis, deferre satagas, & ejus tibi gratiam, & amorem incessanter recuperare intendas, &c.

Alexander Papa Thomæ Cantuariensi Archi-episcopo, scripta Ann. 1164.

Discretionem tuam rogamus, monemus, consulimus, & suademus, ut in om-

nibus tuis & Ecclesiæ agendis te cautum, providum, & circumspectum exhibeas, & nihil propere vel præcipitanter, sed mature & graviter facias, ad gratiam & benevolentiam illustis Regis Anglorum recuperandam, quantum, salva libertate Ecclesiæ & honestate officii, poterit, entitaris modis omnibus & labores.

Vid. Epist. & Vit. Div. Thomæ. 2 Vol. 4to. Bruxellis. 1682. l. i. Ep. 4, 43.—it. vid. l. ii. 1, 94, &c.

From these Letters, I say, it appears, that not onely the King, and the whole body of his Barons, but even *the Bishops, Abbots, and Clergy*, openly condemned his behaviour as highly rash and criminal ; they charged him with being the sole “ disturber of the “ peace of the kingdom [*k*] ; that while he was making all that stir “ about the liberties of the Church, he himself was the chief in- “ fringer of them ; that he was not ashamed to publish the most “ notorious lies in favor of his own cause ; that he refused to restore “ to the King forty thousand marks, which had been committed to “ him in trust [*l*] ; that he was guilty of the most detestable ingrati- “ tude to the King, whom he treated worse than a Heathen or Pub- “ lican, though he had been raised by him from the lowest condition, “ to the highest favor, and entrusted by him with the command “ of all his dominions, and made his Chancellor, and Archbishop “ of *Canterbury*, contrary to the advice of his Mother, the Em-

[*k*] Ad eundem diem ex præcepto Re- gio, Archi-episcopi, Episcopi, & cæteri Ecclesiarum Prælati convocantur.—constituta die Catholici Principis conspectui se præsentat Regni Turbator & Ecclesiæ. Qui de suorum meritorum qualitate non securus Dominicæ Crucis armat se vexillo, tanquam ad Tyranni præsentiam accessurus. Vid. *ibid.* l. i. Ep. 29.

Alexandro Papæ & omnibus Cardinalibus Inimici Thomæ.

[*l*] Totis enim studiis Dominus Cantuariensis desudat, ut Dominum nostrum Regem anathemate, Regnumque ejus interdicti poena confringat. Potestatem, quam in ædificationem non in destructionem Ecclesiæ suscepisse oportuerat, sic exercet in subditos, ut omnes in Regis odium, & totius Regni Nobilium tentet

inducere, & eorum substantiis direptionem, cervicibus gladium, aut corporibus exilium intente studeat procurare.—Libertatem prædicat Ecclesiæ, quam se Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ viribus intrudendo sibi constat ademisse.—Notoria, quæ nec notâ, nec veritate subnixæ sunt, asserat : & in hunc modum plurima, qua potest potestate, confundat. Ad hæc, quadraginta marcarum millia, vel amplius, ut sui asserunt, bonæ suæ fidei commissa, Domino nostro Regi solvere, vel, quod justum est, exhibere detrectat. Et Regi suo negat & Domino, quod nec Ethnico denegare debuerat aut Publicano, &c. *ibid.* l. ii. Ep. 33.

Alexandro Papæ Episcopi & Clerus Angliæ.

“ pres,

“ priefs, and the remonftrances of the Nobility ; and to the great “ grief and mortification of the whole Clergy [*m*] : all which *the Bifhops and Clergy of the Realm* exprefly affirm in their common Letters, not onely to *the Pope*, but to *Becket himfelf* ; accusing him likewise of “ traiterous practices, and of uſing all endeavours “ to excite the King of *France*, and the Count of *Flanders*, to enter into a war againſt his King and Country [*n*].” When he was cited by the King, to anfwer for his male adminiftration, before the Bifhops and Barons of the Realm, he abſolutely refuſed to appear ; declaring himſelf “ reſponſible to none but God ; and that “ as much as the ſoul was ſuperior to the body, ſo much were all “ people obliged to obey him rather than the King, in all things “ relating to God and his Church ; who had eſtabliſhed Bifhops to “ be the Judges and Fathers of Kings themſelves : and as neither “ law nor reaſon allowed children to judge their parents, ſo he “ renounced the judgment of the Kings and the Barons, and all “ other perſons whatſoever, and acknowledged no Judge, but “ God and his ſovereign Vicar on earth, the Pope [*o*].” Yet this man is now adored, as one of the principal Saints and Martyrs of the *Romiſh* Church ; whoſe character I have choſen to

[*m*] Inſedit alte cunctorum mentibus, quam benignus vobis Dominus Rex noſter extiterit, in quam vos gloriam ab exili provexerit, & in familiarem gratiam tam lata vos mente ſuſceperit, ut--- & diſſuadente Matre ſua, Regno reclamante, Eccleſiâ Dei, quoad licuit, ſuſpirante & ingemiſcente, vos in eam, qua præeſtis, dignitatem, modis omnibus ſtudit ſublimare, &c. *ibid.* l. i. Ep. 126.

Thomæ Cantuarienſi Archi-epiſcopo Clerus Angliæ.

[*n*] Aſſerebat Rex & ſuorum pars melior, quod idem Archi-epiſcopus ſereniſſimum Regem Francorum in eum graviter incitaverat, & Comitem Flandrenſem conſanguineum ſuum, qui nullum prius gerebat rancorem, ad ipſum ſubito diſſidendum, & guerram pro poſſe faciendam induxerat, ſicut ſibi pro certo conſtabat & evidentibus patebat indiciiſ. *ib.* l. ii. 28. Alexandro Papæ Willielmus & Otto Cardinales.

[*o*] La vie de Saint Thom. Archeveſque de Canterb. p. 129.

infix upon the more particularly, as it will teach us by an illustrious example, from our own history, what kind of merit it is, that has exalted so many others in the same Church, to the same honors.

Let our *Catholic* tell us also, if he pleases, what opinion his Church entertains of *Garnet the Jesuit*, who was privy to the *Gunpowder plot*, and hanged for his treason: if he dares to speak his mind, he will declare him to be a *Saint and Martyr of Christ*; for such he is held to be at *Rome and St. Omer's*: yet all Protestants will rank him, I dare say, among those Saints, whom I justly call *the disturbers of Kingdoms*; and who merited the honor of their *Sainthood*, not by spreading the light of the Gospel, but scattering Firebrands and destruction through the world. *Garnet*

Our Author cannot comprehend, why I should bring in the *adoration of the Host* among the other articles of my charge; since, by my own confession, I find no resemblance of it in any part of the *pagan* worship [p]: but I have given a good reason for my not finding it there, which might have taught him also, why I brought it in; because it was too absurd for the Practice even of *the Heathens*; who thought, that none could ever be so mad, as to make it a point of religion, *to eat their God*. This I shewed from the authority of *Tully*; whom I prefer therefore, he says, *to the Apostles and Evangelists*: as if those sacred writers had expressly declared *the sacramental bread, to be God*; which all Protestants deny, in that gross and ridiculous sense, in which *the Papists* interpret them. But as it is not my present purpose to examine the real merit of *Transubstantiation*, so I shall take notice onely of one argument that he alledges for it, which, if it has any force, must be allowed indeed to be conclusive; that “the unerring autho- *The Host.*

[p] See Pref. p. 15.

“ rity of the Church has declared it to be true, and enjoined the belief of it ;” and after such a decision, “ that it is the part of an Infidel, rather than a Christian, to ask, how can this be ? [q]”

This is the last resort of *Popery* ; the summ of all their reasoning ; to resolve all religion into an *implicit faith*, and a slavish obedience to the authority of the Church ; which by *innumerable texts of Scripture*, says our Author, *is declared to be the indispensable duty of every Christian* [r]. We may spare ourselves then the pains of thinking and inquiring ; drop the perilous task of studying the Scriptures ; *the Church*, like an indulgent mother, takes all that trouble upon herself ; warrants her doctrines to be divine ; and ensures our salvation, on the single condition of taking her word for it. But all Protestants must see the horrible effects of such a principle ; an *Inquisition* ready to satisfy all their doubts ; a prison and tortures prepared for those, who dare to ask their priests, what *Nicodemus* asked our Saviour, *How can these things be ?* Thus our *Catholic*, in mentioning the case of a Protestant, converted to their faith, who may happen to be possessed still with some scruples declares, “ that he has nothing to fear in conforming himself to the authority of the Church, but very much, “ in making any scruple to hear and obey his spiritual Guides [s].

In this doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, we see a remarkable instance of the prolific nature of error ; and how one absurdity naturally begets another : for the first consequence of it was, to render one half of the sacramental institution superfluous, *by denying the cup to the Laity* ; though our Saviour expressly commanded *all his*

[q] See Catholic Christian, p. 32, 47,
52, 57.

[r] Ibid. p. 47.
[s] Ib. p. 65, 66.

disciples to drink of it, and declared, that, without drinking, they could have no Life in them [t]. Yet grant them their Transubstantiation, and the conclusion is natural, as our Catholic has deduced it; "for whosoever, says he, receives the body of Christ, most certainly receives his blood at the same time, since the body, which he receives, is a living body, and cannot be without Blood. There is no taking Christ by pieces; whoever receives him, receives him whole; and since he is as truly and really present in one kind, as in both, he brings with him consequently the same grace, when received in one kind, as when received in both [u]." But if they were disposed to use their reason on this occasion, a conclusion, so contradictory to the express institution of the Gospel, would convince them of the falsehood of those principles, by which they were led into it; and oblige them to distrust their premises, which have always been disputed, rather than reject a clear precept of Christ, on which there never was, or can be any reasonable dispute.

As to my 6th and 7th instances of their Paganism, since our Catholic has offered nothing upon them worth the pains of considering, I shall refer the reader to my Letter, without troubling him with any thing farther about them, and proceed to the more important article of their miracles.

Here he begins to grow warm again, and declares, "that I am always offended with miracles, wherever I meet with them; and is sorry, that I do not speak out in favor of my friends the Freethinkers, and shew the Jewish and Christian miracles to be no better, than those of the Pagans [x]." This is the constant

*Shew the Jewish and Christian
Miracles to be no better
than the Pagan.*

[t] Matt. xxvi. 27. Joh. vi. 53.
1 Cor. xi. 23.

[u] Cathol. Christian, p. 64, 65.

[x] Pref. p. 4, 17.

refuge of baffled zealots, to throw the odium of *infidelity and free thinking* on those, who dare to expose their impostures. But he hoped perhaps to find some even of our own Church ready to join with him in the cry; since he appears to be no stranger to the offence, which the freedom of *this very Letter* had given to certain men, who are too apt to consider their own opinions, as the standard of Christian faith; and to treat even the defenders of our religion as desertors, if they do not submit to act under their direction, and defend it by their principles. These men imagined, that I had attacked *the popish miracles* with a gaiety, that seemed to condemn all miracles, and particularly those of *our Saviour*; by invalidating the force of *those rules*, which *Mr. Leslie* had established, as *the criterion of true miracles*: whereas the truth of the matter is, as I have often declared it to my friends, that at the time of writing *the Letter*, I had never read *Mr. Leslie's* treatise, nor so much as knew, *what his rules were*.

My only view was, to expose the forgery of *the popish miracles* in the strongest manner that I was able; and in spite of all the evidence, which they pretend to produce for them, to shew, that they stood upon no better ground, than those of their *Pagan Ancestors*. I had observed, not only from books, but from experience, what these Cavillers perhaps were not so well apprized of, that *the pretence of miracles* was the grand support of the *Romish Church*, and what gave a sanction to all their other frauds; that their constant appeal to a divine power, exerting itself miraculously amongst them, gave them not only their chief advantage against protestants, but furnished *the Devils* also with the most obvious arguments against revelation itself: for “these pious cheats, “ *as Mr. Leslie says*, are the sorest disgraces of Christianity; which “ have bid the fairest of any one contrivance, to overturn the cer-
“ tainty

“tainty of the miracles of Christ, and the whole truth of the Gospel, by putting them all on the same foot [y].” To destroy the authority therefore of these cheats, was to sap the foundations of *Popery*, and overturn the main pillar, on which its power subsists: which was the real motive of my dwelling *longer on this*, than on any other article, as our Catholic observes [z], as well as of treating it with that freedom which alarmed even some of our Protestants.

That my sentiments therefore on this head may neither be mistaken, nor suspected; and that I may give satisfaction, as far as I am able, to all, whom, by any freedom of expression, I may possibly have offended, either in this, or in any other of my writings, I take this occasion to declare; that I look upon *miracles*, when accompanied with all the circumstances proper to persuade us of the reality of the facts, said to be performed, and of the dignity of the end, for which they were performed, to be *Miracles more decisive proofs than Prophecy*, the most decisive proofs, that can be given, of the truth and divinity of any religion. This was evidently the case of *the Jewish* and of *the Christian miracles*; wrought in such a manner, as could leave no doubt upon the senses of those, who were the witnesses of them; and for the noblest end, for which the Deity can be conceived to interpose himself; the universal good and salvation of man. For *the Jewish and Christian dispensations* are but different parts of one and the same Scheme; mutually illustrating and confirming each other's authority: And from this view of them, in which they should always be considered, as necessarily connected, and dependent on each other, we see the weakness of that objection, commonly made to *the Mosaic* part, on the account of

[y] See *Leflie's* Short method with the Deists, p. 24. Vol. I. of his Works.

[z] Preface, p. 4.

it's being calculated for the use onely of a peculiar people ; whereas in truth, it was the beginning, or first opening of an universal System ; which, from the time of *Moses*, was gradually manifested to the world by the successive missions of *the Prophets*, till *that fullness of time or coming of the Messiah, when life and immortality were brought to light by the Gospel*, or the chief good and happiness of man perfectly revealed to him.

That *Miracles* have ever been thought the most authentic proofs of a divine mission, seems to be declared by the sense of all nations : Since there never was a religion pretending to be divine, which did not support that pretension by an appeal to them : Yet the innumerable forgeries of this sort, which have been imposed upon mankind in all ages, are so far from weakening the credibility of *the Jewish and Christian miracles*, that they strengthen it. For how could we account for a practice so universal, of forging miracles for the support of false religions, if on some occasions they had not actually been wrought, for the confirmation of a true one ? Or how is it possible, that so many spurious copies should pass upon the world, without some genuine original, from which they were drawn ; whose known existence and tried success might give an appearance of probability to the counterfeit ? Now of all the miracles of antiquity, there are none that can pretend to the character of originals, but those of *the Old and New Testament* ; which though the oldest by far, of all others, of which any monuments now remain in the world, have yet maintained their credit to this day, through the perpetual opposition and scrutiny of ages ; whilst all the rival productions of fraud and craft have long ago been successively exploded, and sunk into utter contempt. An event, that cannot reasonably be ascribed to any other cause, but to the natural force and effect of truth, which, though
defaced

defaced for a time by the wit, or depressed by the power of man, is sure still to triumph in the end, over all the false mimicry of art, and the vain efforts of human policy.

As to *Mr. Leslie's rules*, of distinguishing the true from false miracles, I have lately perused and considered them; and whatever force they may be supposed to have, I would not advise an Apologist for Christianity to trust his cause to that single issue. *Mr. Leslie* himself does not do it; but suggests several other arguments for the divinity of our religion, so strong and conclusive, that *even miracles themselves*, as he declares, *would not be sufficient to over-rule them*—[a]. His marks however are so far certainly good, that no pretence of miracles can deserve any attention without them; yet it does not necessarily follow, that all the miracles, in which they may be found, ought to be received as true; since as far as I have been able to observe, within the compass of my reading, several might be produced both from *Popery and Paganism*, which seem to possess them all, and are yet unquestionably false.

I have charged the Popish Church in my *Letter* with many instances of *forged miracles*, to which this Author does not think fit to make any particular reply, but contents himself with a general answer, which must needs be thought curious: for he observes, *that whether the miracles, which I have pitched upon, be true or false, there is nothing at least beatific in them; and consequently nothing that shews the conformity, which I pretend to demonstrate, between Popery and Paganism* [b]. Which is in effect to say, that allowing them to be forged, yet they were not forged by *Pagan*, but by *Christian Priests*; not for the purposes of Pa-

Forged Miracles.

[a] See *Leslie*, ib. p. 21. [b] *Pref.* p. 18.

gan, but of *Christian superstition*, so that I cannot with any propriety call them *heathenish*.---But are they not all copied from the patterns of *Paganism*? Are they not applied to the same purposes of fraud and delusion; to keep their people in a slavish subjection to an *Idolatrous worship*; and to acquire wealth and power to the priesthood? This certainly is downright *Paganism*, and the most detestable part of it.

He proceeds however to assert with his usual gravity, “that
 “ God has been pleased in every age, to work most evident mi-
 “ racles in their Church, by the ministry of his Saints; in raising
 “ the dead to life; in curing the blind and the lame; in casting
 “ out Devils; in healing inveterate diseases in a moment, attested
 “ by the most authentic monuments; which will be a standing
 “ evidence to all nations, that the Church, in which they are
 “ wrought, is not that Idolatrous Pagan Church, which I pre-
 “ tend it to be, but the true Spouse of Christ---[c].” This is
 the constant voice of all the *Romish Apologists*; that the *Catholicism*
 of their Church is demonstrated by the notoriety of their miracles [d].
 But since the end of all miracles is to convert unbelievers; if their
 miracles be really wrought by the power of *Christ*, why are they
 not wrought, like the *miracles of Christ*, in open day-light; in
 the midst of unbelieving nations; not for the acquisition of gain
 or power to particular persons, but for the benevolent ends of
 conferring some general good, by reforming men’s lives, en-
 lightening their understandings, and promoting truth and peace
 and charity amongst men? Why are none of them wrought in
protestant countries, for whose conversion they are always alledged;
 but huddled over among their own bigotted votaries: prepared by

[c] Ib. 18, 19.

[d] Nostram Ecclesiam demonstrabi-

mus esse veram Ecclesiam miraculis.
 Bellarm. de Eccles. Milit. l. iv. c. 14.

an habitual credulity, to receive any imposture, that their Priests can invent [e]?

While St. Thomas's Shrine flourished at Canterbury, his Saintship was demonstrated by *perpetual miracles* [f]; in which, as the

St. Thomas, Canterbury

[e] *M. de Marolles* takes occasion to observe, from a fact, which happened in *Paris*, 1644, how easily people, possessed with a superstitious regard to miracles, can persuade themselves, that they see, what in truth has no existence. The story is this; a certain man, out of a mere whim, or with design perhaps to try his pistol, shot it off against a sign in the Street, on which *the Virgin Mary* was painted. The neighbourhood being alarmed, ran out to see what was the matter; and observing *the Virgin* to be pierced through with the bullet, conceived it to be done by some *Hetic*, or *Blasphemer*, in open defiance of their religion, and amazed at so daring an impiety, fancied that they saw drops of blood issue from the wound: of which the whole multitude was so strongly convinced, that there were thousands ready to depose, that they had seen it with their own eyes: the story became famous, and a Copper-plate of it was printed; till being ridiculed by men of sense, and found to be wholly imaginary, the Copper-plate was ordered to be suppressed, and the miracle fell gradually into contempt. But if it had not happened in a country, where the Protestants at that time were very numerous, it might have been stamped perhaps for as genuine a miracle, as many others of the same coinage, which I have taken notice of in the present work.

VOL. III.

[f] *John of Salisbury*, who lived at the time, with a great reputation of learning and integrity, and wrote *Becket's life*, whose friend and disciple he was, speaking of the place and manner of his burial, says, "Where to the
" glory of God many and great miracles are now wrought by him, the
" people flocking thither in crouds, that
" they may see in others, and feel also
" in themselves the power and mercy
" of him, who is ever wonderfull and
" glorious in his Saints. For in the
" place, on which he suffered, and
" where his body likewise was deposited that night before the great
" altar; and also where he was at last
" buried, the paralytic are healed; the
" blind see; the deaf hear; the dumb
" speak; the lame walk; the Devils
" are cast out; all who are sick of fevers, or other diseases, are cured; and
" what was never heard of in the days of
" our fathers, the dead are raised. See
" Vit. S. Thomæ Epistolis præfix. Vol.
" i. 142."

John of Salisbury,

Pope Alexander, the third of that name, in a Letter to the Church of *Canterbury* upon the subject of *Thomas's Canonization*, about four years after his death, says,—The whole body of the faithful must necessarily rejoice to hear of the wonderfull works of the holy and reverend man *Thomas*, your late Archbishop: But you must needs be filled with a more

Alexander

G

Historians

Historians of those times tell us, he far outdid not only all other Saints, but even *our Saviour* himself. There were two volumes of them preserved in the Church of *Canterbury*; and another book in *France*, in which there was an account of *two hundred and seventy*. *Peter of Blois*, a celebrated writer of that age, after drawing a parallel between *Thomas the Apostle*, and *Thomas the Martyr*, says, “ I do not pretend to compare a Martyr with an *Apostle*; for an *Apostle* is greater; but it is glorious for us to have a *Martyr*, who bears the name of an *Apostle*, and who equals or surpasses him in his miracles. That great *Apostle* cannot take it amiss, that the Holy Spirit should enable others to work greater wonders, and in greater number than him: Since the Lord both of the *Apostles* and *Martyrs* is content to be outdone by them himself in this particular: *Ye shall do*, says he, *not only these works, that I do; but greater works than these shall ye do* [g].” Which prediction, as they declare, was literally fulfilled by *St. Thomas*: “ Whose blood being collected with care immediately after his death, not only cured all distempers, but raised even great numbers of the dead to life: And when the quantity was found insufficient for the demand, that was made of it, they were forced to supply it with water; the least drop of which, when tinged with the Martyr’s blood, and administered to the sick, or infused into the mouths of the dead, had all the same effects; so that it was sent abroad into all parts

exalted joy, who behold his miracles with your own eyes, and whose Church has the peculiar honor of possessing his most sacred remains. We on our part having considered the glory of his merits, by which his life was made so illustrious, and having received full and certain information of his miracles, not

only from common fame, but from the testimony of our beloved Sons, *Albertus*, and *Theodinus*, Cardinal Priests, and Apostolic Legats, and of a great number of other persons, have solemnly canonized the aforesaid Archbishop, &c. lb. p. 170.

[g] John xiv. 12.

“ of

“ of the Christian world, as an infallible cure for all kinds of
“ diseases [b].”

The fame of these miracles drew Kings and Princes from abroad; and infinite crouds at home, with dayly offerings to his Shrine: but this harvest was no sooner over, than the power of the Saint fell with the gain of the Priest; and all his miracles ceased, when the honor of his Altar stood most in need of their support; so that, the place where he was formerly worshipped, and where such mighty wonders were once wrought, is now shewn as a monument onely of the folly and superstition of our Ancestors. But though he works no miracles in *England*, where his bones lie deposited; he works them still in foreign countries, and will continue to do so, as long as there is a Popish Church and a Priesthood, who find their interest in supporting them. For, as *Lactantius* justly observes, “ among those, who seek
“ power and gain from their religion, there will never be want-
“ ing an inclination to forge and to lie for it [i].”

They tell us indeed of *many miracles* of the greatest kind, wrought by their Missionaries in *India*: but they all rest upon no other authority, than the suspected relations of those Missionaries; and are even contradicted by some of their gravest writers. A Royal Professor of *Salamanca*, in one of his public lectures, says; “ it does not appear to me, that the Christian faith has been pro-
“ pounded to the *Indians* in such a manner, as would reasonably
“ induce them to receive it; for I hear of *no miracles* performed
“ amongst them, nor of such examples of the Christian life, as

[b] La vie de St. Thomas, p. 442. 1173. N^o. vii. Speculum Sanct^{or}. ap.
4^{to}. it. Vita Italicè, p. 430. &c. Pet. Labbè Biblioth. Nov. &c.
Blesens. Epist. 17, & 46. Baron Ann. [i] Lactan. de fals. relig. i. 4.

“there ought to be; but on the contrary, of much scandal and “impiety.” Another learned *Jesuit*, who had spent many years among the *Indians*, in a treatise on the method of converting them, *says*; “What signifies all our preaching? What stress can “we lay upon it? We work *no miracles* [*k*].” But among all the boasted miracles of these Missionaries, they have never so much as pretended to *the gift of tongues*; which is the first thing necessary to the conversion of barbarous nations; and without which all their preaching, and even miracles themselves would be useless: Yet St. *Xaverius* himself, *the Apostle of the Indies*, and one of *their great Saints and workers of miracles*, laments, in several of his letters, the insuperable difficulties, which he had to struggle with in his Mission, and his incapacity of *doing any good in these countries, for the want of this gift*. And in *Japan* particularly, where, according to his account a plentiful harvest was open to him, and great numbers disposed to become Christians; “God grant, *says* “*he*, that I may soon learn their language, so as to be able to “*explore* things divine, and do some service at last to the Christian cause. For at present indeed, I am nothing better than a “statue among them; and while they are talking and inquiring “many things about me, am quite dumb through my ignorance “of their tongue: but I am now acting the boy again in learning “the elements of it [*l*].”

Sir *Thomas Roe*, in a Letter to the *Archbishop of Canterbury* from the Court of the *great Mogul*, relates a fact very applicable to our

[*k*] Hospinian. de Origin. Jesuitar. p. 230.

[*l*] Itaque cum neque illi meam, neque ego illorum linguam intelligerem, &c. Xaverii Epist. l. v. Sane laboriosum est, eorum, quibuscum verferis, sanctitus ignorare sermonem. ib. i. 14.

Faxit Deus, ut ad divinarum explicationem rerum, *Japanicam* linguam condiscamus quam primum. Tum demum aliquam Christianæ rei navabimus operam. Nam nunc quidem inter eos tanquam mutæ quædam statuæ versamur, &c. ib. l. iii. 5.

present

present subject; " That the Jesuit's House and Church in that
 " country happening to be burnt, the Crucifix remained un-
 " touched, which was given out as a miracle. The King called
 " for the Jesuit, and questioned him about it; but he answered
 " ambiguously: The King then asked, whether he did not desire
 " to convert him? And being answered in the affirmative, re-
 " plied; You speak of your great miracles, and of many done in
 " the name of your Prophet; if you will cast the Crucifix into a
 " fire before me, and it does not burn, I will become a Chri-
 " stian. The Jesuit refused the trial, as unjust; answering, that
 " God was not tied to the call of man; that it was a Sin to
 " tempt him; and that he wrought miracles according to his
 " own will; yet he offered to cast himself into the fire, as a
 " proof of his own faith, which the King would not allow. Up-
 " on this, there arose a great dispute, begun by the Prince; a
 " stiff Mahometan, and hater of Christians; who urged, that
 " it was reasonable to try our religion after this manner; but
 " withal, that if the Crucifix did burn, then the Jesuit should be
 " obliged to turn Moor: He alledged examples also of mira-
 " cles said to be wrought for less purposes, than the conversion of
 " so mighty a King; and spoke scornfully of Jesus Christ." Yet nothing could move *the Jesuit*, to expose the authority of his religion to the hazard of so dangerous a trial [m].

But as in the case of all beneficial impostures, the security of the managers is apt to push them at last to an extravagance, that betrays the whole cheat, so it has happened in the affair of *the Popish miracles*; which have been carried to such a height of impudence and absurdity, as renders them wholly contemptible; while all their *greater Saints*, and especially *the Founders of the*

[m] See Collection of Travels published by Churchill, p. 805, 806.

Monastic Orders, St. Francis, St. Dominic, &c. are preferred, not onely to the *Apostles*, but to *Christ* himself, for the number and importance of their miracles; many of which are authorised by the *Bulls of Popes*, condemning all as *Heretics*, who do not believe them [n]: though they are all pretended to be wrought for no other end, but the propagation of *Enthusiasm* and *Monkery*, and the confirmation of certain doctrines and rites, which are not onely useles, but apparently hurtfull to mankind.

If any such miracles therefore were ever wrought, of which there is the greatest reason to doubt, we must necessarily ascribe them to the *power of the Devil*; endeavouring by such delusions to draw men away from the worship of the true God. This we are warranted to think probable, by the principles of our Religion, and the authority of the primitive Fathers; who exhort us on all such occasions, to try the miracles, by their end and tendency, and the nature of that doctrine, which is proposed to be established by them: for though miracles carry the strongest presumption, as I have said, of the divinity of a doctrine in whose favor they are alledged, yet they are intended chiefly to rouse the attention of the world to the preacher or prophet, who pretends to perform them, that his commission may be openly examined, whether it be of God or not.

The *Jesuit Maldonatus*, in his *Comment on Matt. vii. 22.* observes, "That St. *Chrysostom*, *Jerom*, *Euthemius*, *Theophylact*, "prove by several instances, that real miracles had been performed "by those, who were not Catholic Christians." St. *Chrysostom* "declares, "that miracles are proper onely to excite sluggish "and vulgar minds; that men of sense have no occasion for

[n] Vid. *Hospinian*. p. 398, 438.

"them;

“ them ; and that they frequently carry some untoward fuspicion
 “ along with them [o].” “ We are to take notice, *says St. Je-*
 “ rom, that some are said to have the gifts of the Spirit, who do
 “ not hold the truth of the Gospel, which may serve to silence
 “ those Heretics, who, if they can but work a miracle, fancy
 “ presently, that they have demonstrated the truth of their faith [p].”
 “ If miracles, *says St. Austin*, are wrought in the Catholic Church,
 “ it’s Catholicism is not thereby manifested, because miracles are
 “ wrought in it ; but the miracles themselves are to be received,
 “ because they are wrought in a Church, that is Catholic.” And
Theodoret tells us, “ that we are commanded, not to give credit
 “ to them, when the performers of them teach things contrary to
 “ true piety [q].”

If agreeably then to the injunctions of the Apostles, and Primitive Fathers, we sit down to examine the pretended miracles of *Rome*, we shall find them always the most numerous, and the most confidently attested, in proportion to the absurdity of the doctrine or practice, in whose favor they are alledged ; as in the case of *Transubstantiation, Purgatory, the worship of Images, Reliques, Crucifixes, Indulgences, and all the tricks of Monkery* ; as if miracles were of no other use, but to subvert the reason and senses of mankind, and confound all the distinctions between right and wrong : but if there be any rule of judging of their reality, or any power in man to discern truth from falsehood, we must necessarily conclude, from *the nature and end of the Popish miracles*, that, whatever testimonies may be brought to support them, they were

[o] Vide Chrysost. Oper. Edit. Bened. T. iv. p. 251. Edit. Bened.
 mediæ. T. v. 271. a. 376. b. T. viii. [q] Vid. Hospin. de doctrina Jesuit.
 296. a. 205. 455. p. 388.
 [p] Vid. Hieron. in Galat. iii. Oper.

all, without exception, either wrought by wicked spirits, or forged by wicked men.

I have now run through every thing, that seemed worthy of any notice in my adversary's Preface ; where I have the satisfaction to observe, that though he accuses me so freely of *slander and falsehood*, yet he has not denied so much as one of the numerous facts, on which I ground my charge of their *paganism*. It was upon the strength of these facts, that I first offered my Letter to the judgement of the public, and the favorable reception which it has met with, shews, that it is not thought trifling, and foreign to the purpose, as he affirms it to be; but pertinent and decisive of the question, which it professes to illustrate. It is a folly therefore to attack the credit of it, till he comes prepared to overthrow the facts, on which it is built; for while these are allowed to be firm, the inference is undeniable, " that Popery has borrowed it's " principal ceremonies and doctrines from the rituals of Paganism."

The truth of this charge is so evident to all, who know any thing of Antiquity, that though a Missionary, as we may imagine, would be glad to conceal it even from Papists, and much more from Protestants, whom he is endeavouring to convert, yet all their own writers, who have any candor and learning, make no scruple to acknowledge it. *M. de Marolles* informs us, how he once *surprized a great Archbishop of France*, by a frank declaration of it: which he afterwards demonstrated to him at large, by a particular deduction of it through many of the same instances, on which I have insisted in my Letter [r]. The learned *Du Cboul*

[r] Un jour que j'étois auprès de Monf. de la Feuillade, Archevesque d'Embru—l'occasion s'étant offerte de

lui dire, que beaucoup de ceremonies du Paganisme avoient été sanctifiées par la pieté de nostre Religion, ce qui ne

also thus concludes his book *on the Religion of the old Romans* : “ If we consider the case attentively, we shall find very many institutions of our religion to have been borrowed from the ceremonies of the *Ægyptians* and the *Gentiles*---all which our Priests now make use of in our mysteries, by referring to the onely true God, *Jesus Christ*, what the ignorance, false religion, and senseless superstition of the *Pagans* had applied to their Gods, and to mortal men after their consecration [s].”

Our *Catholic* however concludes his work in a very different stile : and in a kind of triumph for an imagined victory, undertakes by my own way of reasoning, to demonstrate *the same Conformity between the English and Romish Church*, which I have attempted to shew between *Popery and Paganism* ; from the number of observances, which our Church still retains from the old Religion of Rome : in consequence of which, he says, “ if my argument be right, our Protestancy at last will be found to be nothing better than heathenish Idolatry.” But if we recollect the definition, which I have given above, of *Popery*, the question will be reduced to a short issue ; by considering onely, whether any of those particulars, which prove their religion to be *paganish*, are retained still in ours ; whether we have any *incense, holy water, or lamps* in our Churches ; any *votive offerings* hanging round our pillars ; any *miraculous images* ; any *adoration of Saints* ; any *altars in the streets, the way-sides, and tops of hills* ; any *processions* ; *miracles, or monkery amongst us* : if after all our reformation, we retain any of these, we are so far undoubtedly as criminal as they ; but if none of them can be found upon us, we are clear at least from all that

s'estoit point fait sans mystere ; je m'apperceus, qu'il s'en etonna un peu : Sur quoy je luy demandai audience, &c.

VOL. III.

Memoires de Marolles, par. ii. p. 209.

[s] De religione Veter. Romanor. ad fin.

H

pagan

pagan idolatry, which glares out so manifestly from every part of *the Popish* worship.

All that he can object to us on this head, amounts to no more than this ; “ That there are several observances retained in our “ sacred Offices, which we use in common with the Church of “ *Rome* :” we own it : but take them all to be such, as we may retain with innocence. We profess to retain all, that is truly Christian ; all, that is enjoined by the Gospel, or by just inference deducible from it. But if besides all this, they can discover any thing amongst us, that they can claim as their own : or that may properly be called *Popish* ; I should willingly resign it to them ; and consent to any expedient, that may remove us farther still from *Poper*y, and unite us more closely with all sober Protestants. But whether any thing of this sort be remaining in our present establishment ; or how far any of the instances, which he declares to have been borrowed from *Rome*, may want a review or farther reformation, as it is not the part of a private man to determine, so I shall refer it, as I ought, to the Judgement of my Superiors. But it is high time to put an end to the reader's trouble, to which I shall beg leave onely to add the following *anonymous Letter*, which has some relation to my present Subject, and was sent to me by the post, while I was employed on the life of *Cicero*.

“ *S I R*,

“ You are desired by one of your Subscribers, instead of amusing yourself with writing *the life of Cicero*, to answer *the Catholic Christian*, written (as the Author declares) in answer to, and “ in order to shew your false reasonings in your comparison of *the “ Popish and Pagan ceremonies of religion*---*This Catholic Christian* “ abuses the Protestant Religion, taxes it's Divines with false trans-
“ lations

“lations and quotations out of Scripture, which he pretends, they
 “do not understand or misapply, to make out their own *Heretical*
 “doctrines.---Such scandalous reproaches brought upon yourself,
 “and also upon the Protestant Religion by your writings, make it
 “incumbent on you, to wipe off these stains, which by your
 “means are contracted, before you enter upon any other subject.

“*I am yours, &c.*”

“*P. S.* It had been honefter and fairer, to have answered the
 “book, than to have complained *to the Bishop of London*, against
 “the Printer, and got him put into Prison.”

I do not know, how far my unknown Correspondent will think himself obliged to me, for performing the task, that he prescribes, of defending my *Letter from Rome*, from the cavils of *the Catholic Christian*: I am in hopes however, that my pains may be of some use, as well to admonish all serious *Papists*, of the fraud and popery of their own worship, as to deter Protestants from running over to a Church, so notoriously corrupt and *Heathenish*.---As to the charge intimated in the postscript, of *procuring the imprisonment of the Printer, instead of answering the Author*, it would have left indeed a just reproach upon me, if there had been any truth in it; but if any man has been imprisoned, or put to any trouble, on the account of that book, I declare, that I am an utter stranger to it; that I have not the honor to be known *to the Bishop of London*; and that no personal provocation whatsoever could induce me, to desire the imprisonment of any man for the sake of his religion. My aversion to *Popery* is grounded, not onely on *it's paganism and idolatry*, but on *it's* being calculated for the support of despotic power, and inconsistent with the genius of a free government. This I take to be *it's* real character; which I do not how-

ever extend to the particular professors of it; many of whom I know to be men of great probity, politeness, and humanity; who through the prejudice of education, do not either see the consequences of what they are trained to profess, or through a mistaken point of honor, think it a duty to adhere to the religion of their Ancestors. With these I can live, not only in charity, but in friendship; without the least inclination to offend them any farther, than by obstructing all endeavours to introduce a religion amongst us, which would necessarily be ruinous to the liberty of our country. Thus much I thought myself obliged to say upon the occasion of the foregoing Letter, that while *the Papists* look upon me as an enemy, they may consider me at least as a fair one; an enemy to the idolatrous and slavish principles of their Church; but free from all prejudice, or enmity to their persons.

T O T H E
R E A D E R.

TH E following reflections were the subject of several Letters written by me from Rome, to my friends in England ; and as the argument of them was much upon my thoughts, and always in my view, during my stay in Italy, so there hardly passed a day, that did not afford me fresh matter and proof for the confirmation of it, till my collections grew up to the size in which they now appear. Upon a review of them at my return, I found it necessary, for the sake of method and connection, to dispose them into one continued argument, and to collect into one view, under the form of a single Letter, what had been more slightly and separately touched in several.

Many writers, I know, have treated the same subject before me ; some of which I have never seen ; but those, whom I have looked into, handle it in a manner so different from what I have pursued, that I am under no apprehension of being thought a Plagiary, or to have undertaken a province already occupied. My observations are grounded on facts, of which I have been an eye witness myself, and which others perhaps had not the opportunity of examining personally, or considering so particularly as I have done : and in my present representation of them, I have not claimed the allowed privilege of a Traveller, to be believed on my own word, but for each article charged on the Church of Rome, have generally produced such vouchers, as they themselves will allow to be authentic.

Much

Much leisure, with an infirm state of health, was the cause of my journey to Italy; and on such an occasion, I thought it my duty, to use the opportunity given me by Providence, towards detecting and exposing, as far as I was able, the true spring and source of those impostures, which, under the name of Religion, have been forged from time to time for no other purpose, than to oppress the liberty, and engross the property of mankind.

But whatever be my opinion of the general scheme of that religion, yet, out of justice to the particular professors of it, I think myself obliged to declare, that I found much candor, humanity, and politeness in all those, whom I had the honor to converse with; and though my character and profession were well known at Rome, yet I received particular civilities from persons of the first distinction both in the Church and the Court.

A L E T-

A

LETTER from *ROME*.

S I R,

I AM sensible, that by this time you cannot but be desirous to have some account of the entertainment, that I have met with in *Rome*; for as you have often heard me declare a very high opinion of the pleasure, which a curious man might reasonably expect to find in it, so you will be impatient to hear, how far my expectation has been answered, and my curiosity satisfied. You have observed, without doubt, from my former letters, that the pleasure of my travels seemed to grow upon me in proportion to the progress, which I made on my journey, and to my approach towards *Rome*; and that every place, which I had seen the last, still pleased me the most. This was certainly true in my road through *Lyons, Turin, Genua, Florence*; but is much more remarkably so with regard to *Rome*; which, of all the places that I have yet seen, or ever shall see, is by far the most delightful: since all those very things, which had recommended any other place to me, and which I had been admiring before, single and dispersed, in the several cities through which I passed, may be seen in *Rome*, as it were in one view, and not only in greater plenty, but in greater perfection.

I have often been thinking, that this voyage to *Italy* might properly enough be compared to the common stages and journey of life. At our setting out through *France*, the pleasures that we find, like those of our youth, are of the gay fluttering kind, which grow by degrees, as we advance towards *Italy*, more solid, manly, and rational, but attain not their full perfection till we reach *Rome*;

I

from

from which point we no sooner turn homewards, than they begin again gradually to decline, and though sustained for a while in some degree of vigor, through the other stages and cities of *Italy*, yet dwindle at last into weariness and fatigue, and a desire to be at home; where the traveller finishes his course, as the old man does his days, with the usual privilege of being tiresome to his friends, by a perpetual repetition of past Adventures.

But to return to my story. *Rome* is certainly of all cities in the world the most entertaining to strangers: for whether we consider it in it's ancient, or present; it's civil, or ecclesiastical state; whether we admire the great perfection of arts in the noble remains of *Old Rome*; or the revival of the same arts in the beautiful ornaments of *modern Rome*; every one, of what genius or taste soever, will be sure to find something or other, that will deserve his attention, and engage his curiosity: and even those, who have no particular taste or regard at all for things curious, but travel merely for the sake of fashion, and to waste time, will still spend that time with more satisfaction at *Rome*, than any where else; from that easy manner, in which they find themselves accommodated with all the conveniences of life; that general civility and respect to strangers; that quiet and security, which every man of prudence is sure to find in it. But one thing is certainly peculiar to this city; that though travellers have generally been so copious in their descriptions of it, and there are published in all parts of *Europe* such voluminous collections of it's curiosities, yet it is a subject never to be exhausted: since in the infinite variety of entertainment, which it affords, every judicious observer will necessarily find something or other, that has either escaped the searches of others, or that will at least afford matter for more particular and curious remarks, than a common traveller is capable of making, or a general collector has time to reflect on. The learned *Montfaucon*, speaking of the *Villa of Prince Borghese*, says, though it's *Antique monuments and rarities have been a hundred times described in print, that many more of them still have been over-*
looked

looked and omitted, than are yet published [a]. And if this be true of one single collection, what an idea must we have of the immense treasure of the same kind, which the whole city is able to furnish?

As for my own journey to this place, it was not, I own, any motive of devotion, which draws so many others hither, that occasioned it. My zeal was not bent on visiting the *holy thresholds of the Apostles, or kissing the feet of their successor*. I knew, that their *ecclesiastical antiquities* were mostly fabulous and legendary; supported by fictions and impostures, too gross to employ the attention of a man of sense. For should we allow, that *St. Peter* had been at *Rome*, (of which many learned men however have doubted [b],) yet they had not, I knew, any *authentic monuments* remaining of him; any *visible footsteps* subsisting, to demonstrate his residence among them: and should we ask them for any evidence of this kind, they would refer us to the *impression of his face on the wall of the dungeon, in which he was confined: or to a fountain in the bottom of it, raised miraculously by him out of the rock, in order to baptize his fellow-prisoners [c]: or to the mark of our Savior's feet in a stone, on which he appeared to him, and stopped him, as he was flying out of the city from a persecution then raging: In memory of which, there was a Church built on the spot, called St. Mary delle Piante, or of the marks of the feet; which falling into decay, was supplied by a chapel, at the expence of our Cardinal*

[a] Adeo ut cum sexcentis in descriptionibus, quæ de villa Burghesiana in publicum emissæ sunt, monumenta bene multa enumerata recensitaque sint, multo plura prætermissa sint inobservata. Diar. Ital. c. xvi.

[b] De Petri Romam adventu, fide xxv. annorum, supremo capitis supplicio ibidem, nemo, qui paullo humanior fuerit, credere possit. Scalig. in Joh. xviii. 31. it. Vid. Frid. Spanh. Miscellan. Sa-

cræ Antiq. l. iii. Dissertat. iii.

[c] Due gloriose memorie lasciarono di se in questa prigione i detti santi Apostoli, &c. Vid. Rom. Modern. Giorn. v. c. 13. Rione di Campitelli. It. Vid. Aringhi Rom. subterr. l. ii. c. 1. It. Montfauc. Diar. Ital. c. xiii. p. 174.

Unda deest: Petri virga Tarpeia Rupes
Percussâ, e Petris larga fluentia de-
dit, &c.

Pool [d]. But the *stone* itself, *more valuable*, as their writers say [e], *than any of the precious ones*; *being a perpetual monument and proof of the Christian Religion*; *is preserved with all due reverence in St. Sebastian's Church*; where I purchased a print of it, with several others of the same kind. Or they would appeal perhaps to the evidence of some *miracle* wrought at his execution; as they do in the case of *St. Paul* in a *Church* called, *At the three Fountains*; the place where he was beheaded: on which occasion, it seems, "In-
stead of blood there issued only milk from his veins; and his
head, when separated from the body, having made three jumps
upon the ground, raised at each place a spring of living water,
which retains still, as they would persuade us, the plain taste of
milk:" of all which facts we have an account in *Baronius, Ma-*
billon, and all their *gravest authors* [f]; and may see printed
figures of them in the description of *modern Rome* [g].

It was no part of my design, to spend my time abroad, in attending to the ridiculous fictions of this kind: the chief pleasure, which I proposed to my self, was, to visit the genuin remains, and *venerable reliques of Pagan Rome*; the *authentic monuments of antiquity*, that demonstrate the certainty of those histories, which are the entertainment, as well as the instruction of our younger years; and which, by the early prejudice of being the first knowledge that we acquire, as well as the delight, which they give, in describing the lives and manners of the greatest men, who ever lived, gain sometimes so much upon our riper age, as to exclude

[d] Rom. Modern. Giorn. ii. Rione di Ripa 21.

[e] Vid. Aring. ibid. l. iii. c. 21. Lapis vero ille dignissimus & omni pretiofo lapidi anteferendus, in D. Sebastiani ecclesiam translatus, ibidem, quo par est religionis cultu, in perenne Religionis Christianæ monumentum aservatur. Ibid.

[f] Cum sacrum caput obruncare-

tur, non tam fluente sanguinis, quam candidissimi lactis rivuli, &c.

It. In ipso autem Martyrii loco tres adhuc perexigui jugiter fontes, &c. horum primus cæteris dulcior saporem lactis præ se fert, &c. Aring. l. iii. c. 2. It. vid. Baronii Annal. A. D. 69. It. Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 142.

[g] Vid. Rom. Modern. Giorn. ii. c. 17. Rione di Ripa.

too often other more useful and necessary studies. I could not help flattering myself with the joy, that I should have, in viewing the *very place* and *scene* of those important events, the knowledge and explication of which have ever since been the chief employment of the learned and polite world; in *treading that ground*, where at every step we stumble on the ruins of *some fabric* described by the *Antients*; and cannot help setting a foot on the *memorial* of some *celebrated action*, in which the *great heroes of antiquity* had been personally engaged. I amused myself with the thoughts of taking a turn in those very walks, where *Cicero* and his friends had held *their philosophical disputations*, or of standing on that very spot, where he had delivered some of his *famous orations*.

Such fancies as these, with which I often entertained myself on my road to *Rome*, are not, I dare say, peculiar to myself, but common to all men of reading and education; whose dreams upon a *voyage to Italy*, like the descriptions of the *Elysian fields*, represent nothing to their fancies, but the pleasure of finding out and conversing with *those ancient Sages* and *Heroes*, whose characters they have most admired. Nor indeed is this imagination much disappointed in the event; for, as *Cicero* observes, “[*b*] Whether it “be from nature, or some weakness in us, it is certain, that we are “much more affected with the sight of those places, where great “and famous men have spent most part of their lives, than either “to hear of their actions, or read their works:” and he was not, as he tells us, “so much pleased with *Athens* itself, for it’s stately “buildings or exquisite pieces of art, as in recollecting the great “men whom it had bred; in carefully visiting their sepulchers; “and finding out the place where each had lived, or walked, or “held his disputations [*i*].” This is what every man of curiosity

[*b*] Natura de nobis hoc, inquit, datum dicam, an errore quodam, ut cum ea loca videamus, in quibus Memoria dignos viros acceperimus multos esse veratos, magis moveamur, quam si

quando eorum ipsorum aut facta audimus, aut scriptum aliquod legamus. Cic. de Fin. v.

[*i*] Me quidem ipsæ illæ nostræ Athenæ non tam operibus magnificis exqui-

will, in the like circumstances, find true in himself; and for my own part, as oft as I have been rambling about in the very *rostra* of old Rome, or in that temple of Concord, where Tully assembled the Senate in *Catiline's* conspiracy [k]; I could not help fancying myself much more sensible of the force of his eloquence; whilst the impression of the place served to warm my imagination to a degree almost equal to that of his *old audience*.

As therefore my general studies had furnished me with a competent knowledge of *Roman History*, as well as an inclination, to search more particularly into some branches of it's antiquities, so I had resolved to employ my self chiefly in inquiries of this sort; and to lose as little time as possible, in taking notice of the fopperies and ridiculous ceremonies of the *present Religion* of the place. But I soon found myself mistaken; for the whole form and outward dress of their worship seemed so grossly *idolatrous and extravagant*, beyond what I had imagined, and made so strong an impression on me, that I could not help considering it with a particular regard; especially when the very reason, which I thought would have hindered me from taking any notice of it at all, was the chief cause, that engaged me to pay so much attention to it: for nothing, I found, concurred so much with my original intention of conversing with the ancients; or so much helped my imagination, to fancy myself wandering about in *old Heathen Rome*, as to observe and attend to their *religious worship*; all whose ceremonies appeared plainly to have been copied from the *rituals of primitive Paganism*; as if handed down by an uninterrupted succession from the *priests of old*, to the *priests of new Rome*; whilst each of them readily explained and called to my mind some passage of a *classic author*, where the *same ceremony* was described, as transacted in the *same form and manner*, and in the *same place*, where I now saw it

fitisque antiquorum Artibus delectant,
quam recordatione fumorum virorum,
ubi quique habitare, ubi sedere, ubi
disputare sit solitus; studioseque eorum

etiam sepulchra contemplor. De Legib.
ii. 2.

[k] Vid. Orat. in Catilin. 3, 4. It.
Phil. ii. 4.

executed before my eyes : so that as oft as I was present at any religious exercise in *their Churches*, it was more natural, to fancy myself looking on at some *solemn act of idolatry in old Rome*, than assisting at a worship, instituted on the principles, and formed upon the plan of Christianity.

Many of our Divines have, I know, with much learning and solid reasoning charged, and effectually proved the *crime of idolatry on the Church of Rome* : but these controversies (in which there is still something plausible to be said on the other side, and where the charge is constantly denied, and with much subtilty evaded) are not capable of giving that conviction, which I immediately received from my senses ; the surest witnesses of fact in all cases ; and which no man can fail to be furnished with, who sees *Popery*, as it is exercised in *Italy*, in the full pomp and display of its pageantry ; and practising all its arts and powers without caution or reserve. This *similitude of the Popish and Pagan Religion*, seemed so evident and clear, and struck my imagination so forcibly, that I soon resolved to give myself the trouble of searching to the bottom ; and to explain and demonstrate the certainty of it, by comparing together the principal and most obvious parts of each worship : which, as it was my first employment after I came to *Rome*, shall be the subject of my first Letter. Reserving therefore to my next, the account, that I design to give you of the *antiquities* and other *curiosities* of the place, I shall find matter enough for this time, to tire both you and myself, in shewing the *source and origin* of the *Popish Ceremonies*, and the exact *conformity* of them with those of their *Pagan ancestors*.

The very first thing that a stranger must necessarily take notice of, as soon as he enters their *Churches*, is the use of *incense* or *per-fumes* in their *religious offices* : the first step, which he takes within the door, will be sure to make him sensible of it, by the offence, that he will immediately receive from the smell, as well as smoak of this *incense* ; with which the whole Church continues filled for some time

Incense.

time after every solemn service. A custom, received directly from *Paganism*; and which presently called to my mind the old descriptions of the *Heathen temples* and *altars*, which are seldom or never mentioned by the *ancients* without the epithet of *perfumed* or *incensed* [l].

In some of their *principal Churches*, where you have before you, in one view, a *great number of altars*, and all of them smoaking at once with *streams of incense*, how natural is it to imagine one's self transported into the *temple of some Heathen deity*, or that of the *Paphian Venus* described by *Virgil*?

— *Ubi templum illi, centumque Sabæo
Thure calent aræ, fertisque recentibus balant.* Æn. i. 420.

Her hundred altars there with garlands crown'd,
And richest incense smoaking, breath around
Sweet odors, &c.

Under the *Pagan Emperors*, the use of *incense* for any purpose of religion was thought so contrary to the obligations of *Christianity*, that, in their persecutions, the very method of *trying and convicting a Christian*, was by requiring him onely, to throw the least grain of it into the censer, or on the altar [m].

[l]—Τέμενος Βασιλεὺς τε θυῖας. Hom. Il. ῥ. 148.

—*Thuricremis cum dona imponeret Aris.*

Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 453.

Theocrit. Id. ῥ. 123. Hom. Il. ῥ. 48.

Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 486.

Sæpe Jovem vidi, cum jam sua mittere vellet,

Fulgmina, thure dato sustinuisse manum.

Ovid.

[m] Maximus dixit: Thure tantum Deos, Nicander, honorato. Nicander dixit: Quomodo potest homo Christia-

mus lapides & ligna colere, Deo relicto immortali? &c. Vid. Act. Martyr. Nicandri, &c. apud Mabill. Iter. Ital. t. i. Par. ii. p. 247.

Adeo ut Christianos verè sacrificare crederent, ubi summis digitis paululum thuris iniecissent acerram, &c. Vide Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 9.

Non est in eo tantum servitus Idoli, siquis duobus digitulis thura in bustum aræ jaciat. Hieron. Oper. t. iv. Epist. ad Heliod. p. 8.

Under

Under the *Christian Emperors*, on the other hand, it was looked upon as a *rite* to peculiarly *heathenish*, that [n] the very *places or houses*, where it could be proved to have been done, were by a *law of Theodosius confiscated to the government*,

In the *old bas-reliefs*, or *pieces of sculpture*, where any *Heathen sacrifice* is represented, we never fail to observe a *boy in sacred habit*, which was always white, attending on the *priest*, with a little *chest or box* in his hands, in which this *incense* was kept for the *use of the altar* [o]. And in the same manner still in the *Church of Rome*, there is alwas a *boy in surplice*, waiting on the *priest* at the *altar* with the sacred utensils, and, among the rest, the *Thuribulum* or *vessel of incense*, which the *priest*, with many ridiculous motions and crossings, waves several times, as it is smoaking, around, and over the altar in different parts of the service.

The next thing, that will of course strike one's imagination, is their use of *holy water*: for nobody ever goes in or out of a *church*, but is either *sprinkled by the priest*, who attends for that purpose on solemn days, or else serves himself with it from a *vessel*, usually of marble, placed just at the door, not unlike to one of our *baptismal fents*. Now *this ceremony* is so notoriously and directly transmitted to them from *Paganism*, that their own *writers* make not the least scruple to own it. The *Jesuit la Cerda*, in his notes on a passage of *Virgil*, where this practice is mentioned, says, *Hence was derived the custom of holy Church, to provide purifying or holy water at the entrance of their Churches* [p]. *Aquaminarium* or *Amula*, says the learned *Montfaucon*, was a *vase of holy water*, placed by the *Heathens* at the entrance of their *Temples*, to sprinkle

The Boy
and his

Thuribulum.

Holy Water

Aquaminarium

[n] Namque omnia loca, quæ Thuris confisterit vapore fumasse, si tamen ea fuisse in jure thurificantium probabitur, fisco nostro adfocienda censemus, &c. Jac Gothof. de Stat. Paganor. sub Christian. Imper. leg. xii. p. 15.

[o] Vid. Montfaucon. Antiq. tom. ii. Plate 23, 24, 25.

Da mihi Thura, puer, pingues facientia flammæ. Ovid. Trist. v. 5.

[p] Spargens rore levi, &c. Virg. Æn. vi. 230. vid. Not.

Περίσπαρτήριον.

Aspersorium.

Platina.

Justin

themselves with [q]. The same vessel was by the Greeks called Περὶσπαρτήριον; two of which, the one of gold, the other of silver, were given by Cræsus to the Temple of Apollo at Delphi [r]: and the custom of sprinkling themselves was so necessary a part of all their religious offices, that the method of excommunication seems to have been by prohibiting to offenders the approach and use of the holy-water pot [s]. The very composition of this holy-water was the same also among the Heathens, as it is now among the Papists, being nothing more than a mixture of salt with common water [t]: and the form of the sprinkling-brush, called by the ancients aspersorium or aspergillum (which is much the same with what the priests now make use of) may be seen in bas-reliefs, or ancient coins, wherever the insignia, or emblems of the Pagan priesthood are described, of which it is generally one [u].

Platina, in his lives of the Popes, and other authors, ascribe the institution of this holy-water to Pope Alexander the first; who is said to have lived about the year of Christ 113: but it could not be introduced so early, since, for some ages after, we find the primitive fathers speaking of it, as a custom purely heathenish, and condemning it as impious and detestable. Justin Martyr says, "That it was invented by dæmons, in imitation of the true baptism signified by the Prophets, that their votaries might also "have their pretended purifications by water [x]:" and the Em-

[q] Vid. Montfauc. Antiquit. t. ii. p. i. l. iii. c. 6.

καθαράς ἢ θεοσις
'Αφροδισιάδων τεύχεα ναῖς. Eurip.
Ione, v. 96.

[r] Herodot. l. i. 51. Clem. Alex.
Strom. l. i.

[s] Vid. Æschin. Orat. contra Ctesiphon. 58.

[t] Porro singulis diebus Dominicus sacerdos Missæ sacrum facturus, aquam sale adpersam benedicendo revocare de-

bet, eaque populum adspargere. Durant.
de Rit. l. i. c. 21.

ἑπεὶ αὖ ἄλλοι μυστήριον, ὡς νενομισται,

Θαλλῶ ἐπὶ ῥαίνων ἐξέμυλον ἀελαῖες
ἕδωρ. Theocrit. id. 95.

[u] Vid. Montfauc. Antiq. t. ii. P. i. l. iii. c. 6. It may be seen on a silver coin of Julius Cæsar, as well as many other Emperors. Ant. Agostini discorso sopra le Medaglie.

[x] Καὶ πὺ λυγρὸν δὴ τὸ το ἀνίστατες
peror

Julian.

peror *Julian*, out of spite to the *Christians*, used to order the vic-
tuals in the markets to be *sprinkled with holy-water*, on purpose
either to starve, or force them to eat, what by their own princi-
ples they esteemed polluted [y].

Thus we see what contrary notions the *Primitive* and *Romish*
Church have of this ceremony: The first condemns it as *supersti-
tious, abominable, and irreconcilable with Christianity*; the latter
adopts it as highly *edifying and applicable* to the improvement of
Christian piety: the one looks upon it as the *contrivance of the*
Devil to delude mankind; the other as the *security of mankind* against
the *delusions of the devil*. But what is still more ridiculous than
even the ceremony itself, is to see their learned writers gravely reck-
oning up the several virtues and benefits, derived from the use of
it, both to the soul and the body [z]; and to crown all, produc-
ing a long roll of *miracles*, to attest the certainty of each virtue,
which they ascribe to it [a]. Why may we not then justly apply
to the *present people of Rome*, what was said by the *Poet* of its *old*
inhabitants, for the use of this very ceremony?

Ab nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis

Flumineâ tolli posse putetis aquâ! Ovid. Fast. ii. 45.

Ah, easy Fools, to think that a whole Flood

Of water e'er can purge the Stain of Blood!

I do not at present recollect whether the *ancients* went so far,
as to apply the use of this *holy-water* to the purifying or blessing
their horses, asses, and other cattle; or whether this be an im-
provement of *modern Rome*, which has dedicated a yearly festival

Benediction of cattle.

οἱ Δαίμονες ἄλλ' τὸ προφάνη κεκευ-
σμένον, ἐνέγκισαν ἢ πάντιζεν ἑαυτὸς τὸς
εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν ἐπιβαίνοντας. Just.
Mart. Apol. i. p. 91. Edit. Thirlb.

[y] Vid. Hospinian. de Orig. Templor.
l. ii. c. 25.

[z] Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 21. It.
Hospin. ibid.

[a] Hujus aquæ benedictæ virtus va-
riis miraculis illustratur, &c. Durant.
ibid.

peculiarly to this service, called, in their vulgar language, the *benediction of horses*; which is always celebrated with much solemnity in the month of *January*; when all the inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood send up *their horses, asses, &c.* to the convent of *St. Anthony*, near *St. Mary the Great*, where a *priest in surplice* at the Church-door *sprinkles* with his brush all the animals singly, as they are presented to him, and receives from each owner a gratuity proportionable to his zeal and ability [b]. Amongst the rest, I had my own horses blest at the expence of about *eighteen pence* of our money; as well to satisfy my own curiosity, as to humor the coachman; who was persuaded, as the common people generally are, that some mischance would befall them within the year, if they wanted the benefit of this *Benediction*. *Mabillon*, in giving an account of this function, of which he happened also to be an eye-witness, makes no other reflection upon it, than that it was *new and unusual* to him [c].

Circenian Games.

I have met indeed with some hints of a practice, not foreign to this, among the ancients; of *sprinkling their horses with water in the Circenian Games* [d]: but whether this was done out of a *superstitious view*, of inspiring any virtue, or purifying them for those races, which were esteemed sacred; or merely to refresh them under the violence of such an exercise, is not easy to determine. But allowing the *Romish Priests* to have taken the hint from some *old custom of Paganism*; yet this however must be granted them, that they alone were capable of cultivating so coarse and barren a piece of superstition, into a revenue sufficient for the maintenance of *forty or fifty idle Monks*.

[b] Ma ogni sorte d'animali a questo santo si raccomanda, e pero nel giorno della sua festa sono portate molte offerte a questa sua chiesa, in gratitudine delle grazie, che diversi hanno ottenute da lui sopra de'loro bestiami. Rom. modern. Giorn. vi. c. 46. Rione de'Monti.

[c] In Festo Sancti Antonii prope S.

Mariam Majorem, ritus nobis insolitus visus est, ut quicquid equorum est in urbe ducantur cum suis phaleris ad portam ecclesiæ, ubi aqua lustrali ab uno e patribus omnes & singuli asperguntur, dato annuo censu. Mabill. It. Ital. p. 136.

[d] Vid. Rubenii Elect. ii. 18.

No sooner is a man advanced a little forward into their Churches, and begins to look about him, but he will find his eyes and attention attracted by a number of *lamps* and *wax candles*, which are constantly burning before the *Shrines* and *Images* of their *Saints*. In all the great Churches of Italy, says *Mabillon* [e], they hang up *lamps* at every altar: a sight, which will not only surprize a stranger by the novelty of it, but will furnish him with another proof and example of the conformity of the *Romish* with the *Pagan* worship; by recalling to his memory many passages of the *Heathen Writers*, where their perpetual *lamps* and *candles* are described as continually burning before the altars and statues of their *Deities* [f].

Lamps. Nax. Canalis.

Herodotus tells us of the *Ægyptians*, (who first introduced the use of *lights* or *lamps* into their temples [g] that they had a famous yearly festival, called, from the principal ceremony of it, the lighting up of candles [h]: but there's scarce a single festival at Rome, which might not for the same reason be called by the same name.

Herodotus.

The primitive writers frequently expose the folly and absurdity of this heathenish custom [i]: they light up candles to God, says *Lactantius*, as if he lived in the dark: and do not they deserve to pass for madmen, who offer lamps to the Author and Giver of Light?

Lactantius.

In the collections of old inscriptions, we find many instances of presents and donations from private persons, of *lamps* and *candlesticks* to the temples and altars of their gods [k]: a piece of zeal,

Inscriptions.

[e] Ad singulas ecclesiæ aras (qui ritus in omnibus Italiæ Basilicis observatur) singulæ appensæ sunt Lampades. *Mabil. It. Ital.* p. 25.

[f] Placuerit & Lychnuchi pensiles in delubris. *Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxxiv. 3.* Vidi Cupidinem argenteum cum Lampade.

Cic. in Verr. ii. Centum aras posuit, vigilemque sacraverat ignem. *Virg. Æn. iv. 200.*

[g] *Clein. Alex. Strom. l. i. c. 16.*

[h] Καὶ τῇ ὁρετῇ ἕνομα κίεται λυχνόκαιν. *Herod. l. ii. 62. Edit. Lond.*

[i] *Hospin. de Orig. Templor. l. ii. 22.*

[k] CUPIDINES TI. CVM SVIS LYCHNCHIS ET LVCERN.

Grut. Inf. clxxvii. 3.

which continues still the same in modern Rome; where each Church abounds with *lamps of massy silver*, and sometimes even of *gold*: the *gifts of Princes*, and other persons of distinction: and it is surprizing to see, how great a number of this kind are perpetually burning before the *altars* of their *principal Saints*, or *miraculous Images*; as *St. Anthony of Padua*, or the *Lady of Loretto*; as well as the vast profusion of *wax candles*, with which their Churches are illuminated on every great festival: when the *high altar*, covered with *gold and silver plate*, brought out of their treasuries, and stuck full of *wax lights*, disposed in beautiful figures, looks more like the rich *side-board of some great Prince*, dressed out for a feast, than an *altar* to pay divine worship at.

VOWS.

But a stranger will not be more surprized at the number of *lamps*, or *wax lights*, burning before their *altars*, than at the number of *offerings*, or *votive gifts*, which are hanging all around them, in consequence of *vows*, made in the time of danger; and in gratitude for deliverances and cures, wrought in sickness or distress: a practice so common among the *Heathens*, that no one *custom of antiquity* is so frequently mentioned by all their writers; and many of their *original donaria*, or *votive offerings* are preserved to this day in the *cabinets of the curious*, viz. *images of metal, stone, or clay*, as well as *legs, arms, and other parts of the body*, which had formerly been hung up in their *temples*, in testimony of some divine favor or cure effected by their *tutelar deity* in that particular member [1]: but the most common of all *offerings* were *pictures*, representing the history of the miraculous cure or deliverance, vouchsafed upon the vow of the donor.

*Nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi; nam posse mederi
Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.* Tibul. El. i. 3.

Now, goddess, help, for thou canst help bestow,
As all these pictures round thy altars show.

[1] Vid. Montfauc. Antiquit. t. ii. Par. i. l. iv. c. 4, 5, 6.

A friend of *Diagoras the philosopher*, called the *Atteist*, having found him once in a temple, as the story is told by *Cicero* [m], *You*, says he, *who think the Gods take no notice of human affairs*, do not you see here by this number of pictures, how many people, for the sake of their vows, have been saved in storms at sea, and got safe into harbour? Yes, says *Diagoras*, I see how it is; for those are never painted, who happen to be drowned. The temples of *Æsculapius* were more especially rich in these offerings, which, *Livy* says, were the price and pay for the cures, that he had wrought for the sick [n]: where they used always to hang up, and expose to common view, in tables of brass or marble, a catalogue of all the miraculous cures, which he had performed for his votaries [o]: a remarkable fragment of one of these tables is still remaining and published in *Gruter's* [p] *Collections*, having been found in the ruins of a temple of that God, in the island of the *Tiber* at *Rome*: upon which the learned *Montfaucon* makes this reflection; that in it are either seen the wiles of the Devil, to deceive the credulous; or else the tricks of Pagan Priests, suborning men to counterfeit diseases and miraculous cures [q].

Æsculapius.

Now this piece of superstition had been found of old so beneficial to the priesthood, that it could not fail of being taken into the scheme of the *Romish Worship*: where it reigns at this day in as full height and vigor, as in the ages of *Pagan Idolatry*; and in so gross a manner, as to give scandal and offence even to some of their own communion. *Polydore Vergil*, after having described this practice of the ancients, “in the same manner, says he, do we now offer up in our Churches little images of wax; and as oft as any part of the body is hurt, as the hand or foot, &c.

Polydore Vergil

[m] Cic. Nat. Deor. l. iii. 253.

[n] Tum donis dives erat, quæ re-
mediorum salutarium ægri mercedem sa-
craverant Deo. Liv. l. xlv. 28.

[o] Τὸ ἱερὸν πολλὰς ἔχοντος ἀπὸ τῶν
τε καμνόντων, καὶ τῶν ἀνακειμένων πινά-

κων, ἐν οἷς ἀνατετραμμέναι τυγχάνουσιν αἱ
θεραπεῖαι. Strabo, t. i. 515.

[p] Gruter. Inscript. p. 71.

Et Montfauc. Antiq. t. ii. p. i. l. iv.
c. 6.

[q] Ibid.

“ we

“ we presently make a vow to God, or one of his Saints, to whom
 “ upon our recovery we make an offering of that hand or foot in
 “ wax : which custom is now come to that extravagance, that we
 “ do the same thing for our cattle, which we do for ourselves,
 “ and make offerings on account of our oxen, horses, sheep ;
 “ where a scrupulous man will question, whether in this we imi-
 “ tate the religion or the superstition of our ancestors [r].”

St. Philip Neri.

The altar of St. Philip Neri, says *Baronius* [s], “ shines with
 “ votive pictures and images, the proofs of as many miracles ; re-
 “ ceiving every day the additional luster of fresh offerings from
 “ those, who have been favored with fresh benefits :” amongst
 whom the present *Pope* himself pays, as I have been told, a yearly
 acknowledgment, for a miraculous deliverance, that he obtained
 by the invocation of *this Saint*, when he had like to have per-
 ished under the ruins of a house, overturned in an earthquake.

[r] Pol. Verg. de Inv. Rer. l. v. 1.

[s] Baron. Ann. i. An. 57. n. 162.

It. Aring. Rom. Subter. l. i. c. 30. it.
 l. vi. 27.

This *Philip Neri* is a Saint in high
 esteem in all parts of *Italy*, where he has
 many Churches dedicated to him : he
 was founder of the congregation of the
 oratory, and died about a century and

half ago : his body lies under his altar,
 with the following inscription, in a fine
 Church called *Chiesa Nuova*, which was
 founded and built for the service of his
 congregation ; where we see his picture
 by *Guido*, and his statue by *Algardi*.
Cardinal Barenius, who was one of his
 disciples, lies buried too in the same
 Church.

C O R P V S

S. PHILIPPI NERII CONGR. ORATORII
 FVNDATORIS

AB IPSO DORMITIONIS DIE ANNOS

QVATVOR ET QVADRAGINTA

INCORRVPTVM DIVINA

VIRTVTE SERVATVM OCVLIS FIDELIVM

EXPOSITVM A DILECTIS IN CHRISTO

FILIIS SVB EIVSDEM S. PATRIS ALTARI

PERPETVÆ SEPVLTVRÆ MORE MAIORVM

COMMENDATVM EST

ANNO SALVTIS M.DC.XXXVIII.

There

There is commonly so great a number of these *offerings* hanging up in their *Churches*, that, instead of adding any beauty, they often give offence, by covering or obstructing the sight of something more valuable and ornamental: which we find to have been the case likewise in the *old heathen temples*; where the *Priests* were obliged sometimes to take them down, for the obstruction, which they gave to the beauty of a fine pillar or altar [t]. For they consist chiefly, as has been said, of *arms and legs*, and little *figures of wood or wax*, but especially *pieces of board painted*, and sometimes indeed *fine pictures*, describing the manner of the deliverance obtained by the *miraculous interposition of the Saint* invoked: of which *offerings*, the *blessed Virgin* is so sure always to carry off the greatest share, that it may truly be said of her, what *Juvenal* says of the *Goddess Isis*, whose religion was at that time in the greatest vogue at *Rome*, that the *painters get their livelihood out of her*.

Pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?

As once to *Isis*, now it may be said,
That Painters to the *Virgin* owe their Bread.

As oft as I have had the curiosity to look over these *Donaria*, or *votive Offerings*, hanging round the *Shrines of their Images*, and consider the several stories of each, as they are either expressed in painting, or related in writing, I have always found them to be mere copies, or verbal translations of the originals of *Heathenism*: for the *vow* is often said to have been *divinely inspired*, or expressly commanded; and the cure and deliverance to have been wrought, either by the *visible apparition*, and immediate hand of the *tutelar Saint*, or by the notice of a *dream*, or some other *miraculous admonition* from heaven. "There can be no doubt, say their *Writers* [u], but that the *Images of our Saints* often work signal

[t] Ab his columnis, quæ incommode opposita videbantur, signa amovit, &c. Liv. l. xl. 51.

[u] Extra omnem controversiam est, Sanctorum Imagines mirifica designare miracula, ut & debilibus valetudo bona

"miracles,

“miracles, by procuring health to the infirm, and appearing to us often in dreams, to suggest something of great moment for our service.”

And what is all this, but a revival of the *old impostures*, and a repetition of the same *old stories*, of which the *ancient inscriptions* are full [w], with no other difference, than what the *Pagans* ascribed to the imaginary help of *their Deities*, the *Papists* as foolishly impute to the favor of *their Saints*? As may be seen by the few instances, that I have subjoined, out of the great plenty, which all *books of antiquities* will furnish: and whether the reflection of *Father Mountfalcon* on the *Pagan Priests*, mentioned above, be not, in the very same case, as justly applicable to the *Romish Priests*, I must leave to the judgment of my Reader.

But the gifts and offerings of the kind, that I have been speaking of, are the fruits onely of vulgar zeal, and the presents of inferior people; whilst princes and great persons, as it used to be of

per eos concilietur, sæpeque in fomiis lant. Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 5.
apparentes optima quæque nobis confu-

[w] SILVANO SALVTARI
L. MANLIVS SATVRNINVS
EX VISO POSVIT.
Gruter. p. 65.
MINERVAE. MEMORI
CAELIA. IVLIANA.
INDVLGENTIA. MEDICINARVM
EIVS. GRAVI. INFIRMITATE.
LIBERATA. D. P.

48.

SILVANO
&c.
SOMNIO MONITA.
ib. 62.
IOVI OPT. &c.
FLAVIVS COSMVS
IVSSV DEI FECIT.
20.

And that this is the stile also of votive Inscriptions among the *Papists*, we see by the following one in a Church at *Milan*.

DIVAE. SAVINAE, &c.
LIVIA. EVPHEMIA. IN
ACERBO. STOMACHI.
CRVCITATV. OPEM. NACTA:
V. S. M. D. XI.

old,

old, [x] frequently make offerings of large vessels, lamps, and even statues of massy silver or gold; with diamonds, and all sorts of precious stones of incredible value; so that the Church of Loretto is now become a Proverb for it's riches of this sort, just as Apollo's Temple at Delphi was with the ancients on the same account.

Loretto.
Delphi.

Ὅυδ' ὅσα λαίνῳ εἰδὸς ἀφ' ἡτορῶν ἐντὸς ἑέρπει
Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλωνος.

II. 404.

Nor all the wealth Apollo's Temple holds
Can purchase one day's life, &c.

In the famed treasury of this Holy House; one part consists, as it did likewise among the Heathens, of a wardrobe. For the very Idols, as Tertullian observes, used to be dressed out in curious robes, of the choicest stuffs and fashion [y]. While they were shewing us therefore the great variety of rich habits, with which that treasury abounds; some covered with precious stones, others more curiously embroidered by such a Queen, or Princess, for the use of the miraculous Image; I could not help recollecting the picture which old Homer draws of Queen Hecuba of Troy, prostrating herself before the miraculous Image of Pallas, with a present of the richest and best wrought gown, that she was mistress of.

Hecuba

Τῶν ἐν αἰσραμένη Ἑκάβῃ Φέρε δῶρον Ἀθήνη,
Ὅς κάλλιστον ἔλεν ποικίλμασιν ἡδὲ μέλιντον;
Ἀστὴρ δ' ὥς ἀπέλαμπε, &c.

II. 293.

A gown she chose, the best and noblest far,
Sparkling with rich embroid'ry, like a star, &c.

The mention of Loretto puts me in mind of the surprize, that I was in, at the first sight of the holy Image: for it's face is as black as a Negro's; so that one would take it rather for the re-

The Lady of Loretto.

[x] Consul Apollini, Æsculapio, Saluti dona vovere, & dare signa inaurata iustus: quæ vovit, deditque. Liv. l. xl. 37.

[y] Cum ipsis etiam Idolis induantur prætextæ & trabæ, &c. De Idololat. p. 116. Edit. Rigalt.

presentation of a *Proserpine*, or *infernal Deity*, than, what they impiously stile it, of the *Queen of Heaven*. But I soon recollected, that this very circumstance of it's complexion, made it but resemble the more exactly the *old Idols of Paganism*, which, in *sacred* as well as *profane Writers*, are described to be *black with the perpetual smoak of lamps and incense* [z].

Idols.

When a man is once engaged in reflections of this kind, imagining himself in some *Heathen Temple*, and expecting as it were some *sacrifice*, or other *piece of Paganism* to ensue, he will not be long in suspense, before he sees the finishing act and last scene of *genuin Idolatry*, in crouds of bigot votaries, prostrating themselves before some *Image of wood or stone*, and paying divine honors to an *Idol* of their own erecting. Should they squabble with us here about the meaning of the word, *Idol*, St. *Jerom* has determined it to the very case in question, telling us, that by *Idols are to be understood the Images of the Dead* [a]: and the *worshippers of such Images* are used always in the *stile of the Fathers*, as terms synonymous and equivalent to *Heathens* or *Pagans* [b].

Numa

As to the practice itself, it was condemned by many of the wisest Heathens, and for several ages, even in *Pagan Rome*, was thought impious and detestable: for *Numa*, we find, prohibited it to the *old Romans*, nor would suffer any *Images* in their *Temples*: which constitution they observed religiously, says *Plutarch* [c], for the first *hundred and seventy years of the City*. But as *Image worship* was thought abominable even by some *Pagan Princes*, so by some of the *Christian Emperors* it was forbidden on pain of death [d]: not because these *Images* were the representations of

[z] Baruch. vi. 19, 21. Arnob. l. vi.

[a] Idola intelligimus Imagines mortuorum. Hier. Com. in Isa. c. xxxvii.

[b] Innumeri sunt in Græcia extitisse nationibus, qui se in discipulatum Christi tradiderunt, non sine ingenti odio eorum qui simulacra venerantur. Pamphilus Apol. pro Orig. vid. Hieron. Op.

tom. v. p. 233. Ed. Par.

[c] Vid. Plutar. in Vit. Num. p. 65. C.

[d] Poenæ capitis subjugari præcipimus, quos simulacra colere constiterit. Vid. Gothof. Comment. de statu Pagan. sub Christian. Imperatorib. Leg. vi. p. 7.

Dæmons,

Dæmons, or *false Gods*, but because they were *vain senseless Idols*, the *work of men's hands*, and for that reason unworthy of any honor: and all the instances and overt-acts of such worship, described and condemned by them, are exactly the same with what the *Papists* practise at this day, viz. *lighting up candles*; *burning incense*; *hanging up garlands*, &c. as may be seen in the *law of Theodosius* before-mentioned; which confiscates that *house or land*, where any such act of *Gentile superstition* had been committed [e]. These Princes, who were influenced, we may suppose, in their constitutions of this sort, by the advice of their bishops, did not think *Paganism* abolished, till the *adoration of Images* was utterly extirpated; which was reckoned always the *principal* of those *Gentile Rites*, that, agreeably to the sense of the *purest ages of Christianity*, are never mentioned in the *imperial laws*, without the epithets of *prophane*, *dammable*, *impious*, &c. [f].

What opinion then can we have of the present practice of the *Church of Rome*, but that by a change only of *name*, they have found means to retain the *thing*; and by substituting *their Saints* in the place of *the old Demigods*, have but set up *Idols of their own*, instead of those of their *Forefathers*? In which it is hard to say, whether their assurance, or their address is more to be admired, who have the face to make that the principal part of *Christian worship*, which the *first Christians* looked upon as the most criminal part even of *Paganism*, and have found means to extract gain and great revenues out of a practice, which in *primitive times* would have cost a man both life and estate.

But our notion of the *Idolatry* of *modern Rome* will be much heightened still and confirmed, as oft as we follow them into

[e] In nulla urbe sensu carentibus simulacris, vel accendat lumina, imponat thura, ferta suspendat.

Si quis vero mortali opere facta, & ævum passiura simulacra imposito thure venerabitur — is utpote violatæ religio-

nis reus, ea domo seu possessione multabitur, in qua eum consisterit gentilitia superstitione famulatum. Ibid. Leg. xii. p. 15.

[f] Ibid. Leg. xvii. 20.

Saints
Demigods.

gain

Idolatry.

those *Temples*, and to those very *Altars*, which were built originally by their *Heathen ancestors*, the old *Romans*, to the honor of their *Pagan Deities*; where we shall hardly see any other alteration, than the *shrine* of some old *Hero* filled by the meaner statue of some *modern Saint*: nay, they have not always, as I am well informed, given themselves the trouble of making even this change, but have been content sometimes to take up with the old *Image*, just as they found it; after *baptizing* it onely, as it were, or consecrating it anew, by the imposition of a *Christian name*. This *their antiquaries* do not scruple to put strangers in mind of, in shewing their *Churches*; and it was, I think, in that of St. *Agnès*, where they shewed me an *antique statue* of a young *Bacchus*, which with a new name, and some little change of drapery, stands now worshipped under the title of a *female Saint*.

Agnès.

Tully.

Tully reproaches *Clodius*, for having publicly dedicated the statue of a common strumpet, under the name and title of the Goddess *Liberty*: a practice, still frequent with the present *Romans*, who have scarce a fine image or picture of a female Saint, which is not said to have been designed originally by the sculptor or painter, for the representation of his own mistress: and who dares, may we say ironically with the old *Roman* [g], to violate such a Goddess as this; the statue of a whore?

Pantheon.

The noblest *Heathen Temple* now remaining in the world, is the *Pantheon* or *Rotunda*; which, as the inscription [b] over the por-

[g] Hanc Deam quisquam violare audeat, imaginem meretricis? Cic. pro Dom. 43.

[b] PANTHEON, &c.
Ab Agrippa Augusti Genero
Impie Jovi, Cæterisq; Mendacibus Diis
A Bonifacio IIII. Pontifice
Deiparæ & S. S. Christi Martyribus Pie
Dicatum,
&c.

tico

tico informs us, having been *impiously* dedicated of *old* by Agrippa to Jove and all the Gods, was *piously* reconsecrated by Pope Boniface the fourth, to the blessed Virgin and all the Saints. With this single alteration, it serves as exactly for all the purposes of the *Popish*, as it did for the *Pagan worship*, for which it was built. For as in the *old Temple*, every one might find the God of his country, and address himself to that *Deity*, whose religion he was most devoted to; so it is the same thing now; every one chuses the *Patron* whom he likes best; and one may see here *different services*, going on at the same time at *different altars*, with distinct congregations around them, just as the inclinations of the people lead them, to the worship of this or that particular *Saint*.

And what better title can the *new Demigods* shew, to the adoration now paid to them, than the *old ones*, whose shrines they have usurped? Or how comes it to be less criminal to *worship Images*, erected by the *Pope*, than those which *Agrippa*, or that, which *Nebuchadnezzar* set up? If there be any real difference, most People, I dare say, will be apt to determine in favor of the *old possessors*: for those *heroes of antiquity* were raised up into *Gods*, and received *divine honors*, for some *signal benefits*, of which they had been the *authors* to mankind; as the *invention of arts and sciences*; or of something highly useful and necessary to life [*i*]: whereas of the *Romish Saints*, it is certain, that many of them were never heard of, but in their own *legends or fabulous histories*; and many more, instead of any services done to mankind, owe all the honors now paid to them, to their *vices* or their *errors*; whose merit, like that of *Demetrius in the Acts* [*k*], was their skill of raising rebellions in defence of an *Idol*, and throwing kingdoms into convulsions, for the sake of some *gainful imposture*.

Demetrius.

[*i*] Suscepit autem vita hominum, consuetudineque communis, ut beneficio excellentes viros in cælum fama, & voluntate tollerent, &c. Cic. Nat. Deor. l. ii. 223.

Imitantem Herculem illum, quem hominum fama, beneficiorum memor, in concilium cœlestium collocavit. Off. iii. 299.

[*k*] Act. Apost. xix. 23.

Vesta

Madonna.

And as it is in the *Pantheon*, it is just the same in all the other *Heathen Temples*, that still remain in *Rome*; they have only pulled down *one Idol* to set up *another*; and changed rather the name, than the object of their worship. Thus the little *Temple of Vesta*, near the *Tiber*, mentioned by *Horace* [l], is now possessed by the *Madonna of the Sun*; [m] that of *Fortuna Virilis*, by *Mary the Egyptian*; [n] that of *Saturn*, [o] (where the public treasure was anciently kept) by *St. Adrian*; that of *Romulus and Remus* in the *Via Sacra*, by two other brothers, *Cosmas and Damianus*; [p] that of *Antonine the Godly*, by *Laurence the Saint* [q]: but for my part, I should sooner be tempted, to prostrate myself before the statue of a *Romulus* or an *Antonine*, than that of a *Laurence* or a *Damian*; and give *divine honors* rather, with *Pagan Rome*, to the *founders of empires*, than with *Popish Rome*, to the *founders of Monasteries*.

Romulus.

At the foot of *Mount Palatin*, in the way between the *Forum* and *Circus Maximus*, on the very spot, where *Romulus* was believed to have been suckled by the wolf, there stands another little round *Temple*, dedicated to him in the early times of the republic, into which, for the present elevation of the soil without, we now descend by a great number of steps. It is mentioned by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, who says, that in his time there stood in it a *brazen statue of antique work, of the wolf giving suck to the infant*

[l] Carm. l. i. 2.

[n] Ibid. iv.

[m] Rom. Mod. Giorn. ii. Rione di Ripa. v.

[o] Ib. Gior. v. Rione di Campitelli,

xv.

[p] Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. Templum Geminis
Urbis Conditoribus superstitiosè dicatumA Felice IIII. S. S. Cosmæ & Damiano Fratribus
Piè consecratum, vetustate labefactatum

In splendidiorem formam redegit

Ann. Sal. M.DC.XXXIII.

[q] Ibid. xvi.

Brothers [r] ; which is thought by many to be the same, which is still preserved and shewn in the Capitol: though I take this rather, which now remains, to have been another of the same kind, that stood originally in the Capitol, and is mentioned by *Cicero* to have been there struck with lightning [s] ; of which it retains to this day the evident marks in one of it's hinder legs: it is however to one or the other of these celebrated statues, that *Virgil*, as *Servius* assures us, alludes in that elegant description :

—*Geminos buic ubera circum
Ludere pendentes pueros & lambere matrem
Impavidos : Illam tereti cervice reflexam
Molcere alternos, & fingere corpora lingua.* Æn. viii. 631.

The martial twins beneath their mother lay,
And hanging on her dugs, with wanton play,
Securely suck'd ; whilst she reclines her head
To lick their tender limbs, and form them as they fed.

But to return to my story : from the tradition of the wonderful escape, which *Romulus* had in this very place, when exposed in his infancy to perish in the *Tiber* ; as soon as he came to be a God, he was looked upon as singularly propitious to the health and safety of young children : from which notion, it became a practice for nurses and mothers, to present their *sickly infants* before his shrine in this little *Temple* [t], in confidence of a cure or relief by his favor : now when this *Temple* was converted afterwards into a

[r] Καὶ τέμνω ἐν ἑνθα εἰκὼν κεῖται
τῷ πάτρῳ, λυκαῖνα παιδίοις δυσὶ τὸς μα-
σὲς ἐπέχυσας. χάλκεα ποιήματα πα-
λαιᾶς ἐρσασίας. Dion. Hal. l. i. 64.
Edit. Hudson.

[s] Tactus est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactantem, ubetibus lupinis inbiantem fuisse

meministis. Orat. in Catil. iii. 4.

[t] A questo Tempio dedicato à Romolo portarano le Donne Romane ad offerir i loro figliuolini, quando pativano di qualche infirmità ; e perche questa usanza andavano seguitando l'istisse ancora fatte Christiane, &c. Rom. Moderna, Giornata 2da. c. xxxvi. Rione di Ripa.

Church ;

Theodorus

Church; lest any piece of superstition should be lost, or the people think themselves sufferers by the change, in losing the benefit of such a protection for their children; care was taken to find out in the place of the *Heathen God*, a *Christian Saint*, who had been exposed too in his infancy, and found by chance like *Romulus*; and for the same reason, might be presumed to be just as fond of children, as their *old Deity* had been: and thus the worship paid to *Romulus*, being now transferred to *Theodorus*, the old superstition still subsists, and the custom of presenting children at *this Shrine* continues to this day without Intermission; of which I myself have been a witness, having seen, as oft as I looked into *this Church*, ten or a dozen women decently dressed, each with a *child* in her lap, sitting with silent reverence before the *altar of the Saint*, in expectation of his *miraculous influence* on the health of the infant.

Madonna

Bona Dea.

Apollo

Apollinaris

In consecrating these *Heathen Temples* to the Popish worship, that the change might be the less offensive, and the *old superstition* as little shocked as possible, they generally observed some resemblance of quality and character in the *Saint*, whom they substituted to the *old Deity*: “If in converting the profane worship of “the *Gentiles* (says the *Describer of modern Rome* [u]) to the pure “and sacred worship of the Church, the faithful use to follow “some use and proportion, they have certainly hit upon it here, in “dedicating to the *Madonna*, or *holy Virgin*, the Temple formerly “sacred to the *Bona Dea*, or good Goddesses.” But they have more frequently on these occasions had regard rather to a *similitude of name* between the *old* and *new Idol*. Thus in a place formerly sacred to *Apollo*, there now stands the *Church of Apollinaris*; built there, as they tell us, [x] that the *profane name of that Deity*,

[u] Si nel revoltare il profano culto de Gentili nel sacro e vero, osservarono i fedeli qualche proportion, qui la ritrovarono assai conveniente nel dedicare à Maria Vergine un Tempio, ch'era della bona dea——Rom. Mod. Gior. ii. Rion.

di Ripa x.

[x] La Chiesa di S. Apollinari fu fabbricata in questo luogo d' Christiani; affine che il profano nome d' Apolline fusse convertito nel santo nome di questo glorioso Martire. Ibid. Gio. iii. 21.

might be converted into the *glorious name of this Martyr* : and where there anciently stood a *Temple of Mars*, they have erected a *Church to Martina*, with this inscription :

*Mars
Martina*

*Martyrii gestans virgo Martina coronam,
Ejedo hinc Martis numine, Templum tenet.*

Mars hence expell'd ; *Martina*, martyr'd maid,
Claims now the worship, which to him was paid.

In another place, I have taken notice of an *Altar* erected to *St. Baccho* [y] ; and in their stories of their *Saints*, have observed the names of *Quirinus*, *Romula* & *Redempta*, *Concordia*, *Nympha*, *Mercurius* [z] : which, though they may, for any thing that I know, have been the genuin names of *Christian Martyrs*, yet cannot but give occasion to suspect, that some of them at least have been formed out of a corruption of the *old names* ; and that the adding of a modern termination, or *Italianizing* the *old name* of a *Deity*, has given existence to some of their present *Saints* : thus the corruption of the word *Soraete* (the old name of a mountain mentioned by *Horace* [a] in sight of *Rome*) has, according to *Mr. Addison*, added one Saint to the *Roman Calendar* ; being now softened, [b] *because it begins with an S*, into *St. Oreste* ; in whose honor a monastery is founded on the place : a change very natural, if we consider that the *title of Saint* is never written by the *Italians* at length, but expressed commonly by the single letter *S.* as *S. Oraete* : and thus this *holy mountain* stands now under the protection of a *Patron*, whose being and power is just as imaginary, as that of its old guardian *Apollo* :

Sancti custos Soraetis Apollo. *Virg. Æn. ix.*

No suspicion of this kind will appear extravagant to those, who are at all acquainted with the *History of Popery* ; which abounds

[y] Ibid. Gior. vi. 37.

[a] Carm. l. i. 9.

[z] Aringh. Rom. Subter. l. ii. 21.

l. iii. 12. l. iv. 16, 22. l. v. 4.

[b] Addison's Travels from *Pesaro*,
&c. to *Rome*.

with instances of the grossest forgeries both of *Saints* and *Reliques*, which, to the scandal of many even among themselves [c], have been imposed for genuin on the poor ignorant people. It is certain, that in the earlier ages of Christianity, the *Christians* often made free with the *sepulchral stones of Heathen monuments*, which being ready cut to their hands, they converted to their own use; and turning downwards the side, on which the *old epitaph* was engraved, used either to inscribe a new one on the other side, or leave it perhaps without any *inscription* at all, as they are often found in the *Catacombs of Rome* [d]. Now this one custom has frequently been the occasion of ascribing *Martyrdom* and *Sainthood* to persons and names of mere *Pagans*.

Mabillon gives a remarkable instance of it in an *old stone*, found on the grave of a *Christian* with this inscription [e],

D. M.
IVLIA EVODIA
FILIA FECIT
MATRI.

And because in the same grave there was found likewise a *glass vial*, or *lacrymatory vessel*, tinged with a reddish color, which they call [f] *blood*, and look upon as a certain proof of *martyrdom*, this *Julia Evodia*, though undoubtedly a *Heathen*, was presently adopted both for *Saint* and *Martyr*, on the authority of an *inscription*, that appears evidently to have been one of those above-

[c] Utinam hanc religionem imitarentur, qui sanctorum recens absque certis nominibus inventorum fictas historias comminiscuntur ad confusionem verarum historiarum, imo & qui Paganorum Inscriptiones aliquando pro Christianis vulgant, &c. *Mabill. Iter. Ital.* p. 225.

[d] Ab immanibus enim & pervetustis superstitiosis urbis constructionibus

atque sepulchris ad suos obtegendos tumulos Christiani lapides non raro auferre consueverant. *Aringh. Rom. Subt. l. iii. c. 22.*

[e] Vid. *Mabill. Ibid.*

[f] Si forte rubore quodam in imo tincta vitrea ampulla fuerit, pro argumento Martyrii habetur. *Mont. Diar. It. p. 118.*

mentioned,

mentioned, and borrowed from a *heathen Sepulcher*. But whatever the party there buried might have been, whether *Heathen* or *Christian*; it is certain however, that it could not be *Evodia herself*, but her mother only, whose name is not there signified.

The same author mentions some *original papers*, which he found in the *Barbarine Library*, giving a pleasant account of a negotiation between the *Spaniards* and *Pope Urban the VIIIth*, in relation to this very subject [g]. The *Spaniards*, it seems, have a *Saint*, held in great reverence in some parts of *Spain*, called *Viár*; for the farther encouragement of whose worship, they solicited the *Pope*, to grant some *special indulgencies* to his altars; and upon the *Pope's* desiring to be better acquainted first with his character, and the proofs, which they had of his *saintship*, they produced a *stone* with these *antique letters* S. VIAR. which the antiquaries readily saw to be a small fragment of some *old Roman Inscription*, in memory of one, who had been *Præfectus VIARum*, or *overseer of the high-ways*.

Viár.

But we have in *England* an instance still more ridiculous, of a *fictitious saintship*, in the case of a certain *Saint*, called *Amphibolus*; who, according to our *Monkish Historians*, was *Bishop of the isle of Man*, and *fellow Martyr and disciple of St. Alban*: yet the learned *Bishop Usher* has given good reasons to convince us, that he owes the honor of his *saintship*, to a mistaken passage in the *old acts or legends of St. Alban* [h]: where the *Amphibolus* mentioned, and since revered as a *Saint and Martyr*, was nothing more than the *cloak*, which *Alban* happened to have at the time of his execution: being a word derived from the *Greek*, and signifying

Amphibolus.

[g] Alterum notatu dignum, quod Ital. p. 145.

Urbanus ab Hispanis quibusdam interpellatus de concedendis indulgentiis ob- c. xiv. p. 539. 4^{to}.

cultum Sancti, cui nomen V I A R, &c. It. Ep. Lloyd's Histor. Acc. of Ch. in Gr. Brit. e. vii. p. 151.

allatus est lapis in quo hæc literæ reliquæ erant S. V I A R, &c. Vid. Mabill. Iter.

a rough shaggy cloak, which ecclesiastical persons usually wore in that age.

They pretend to shew us here at *Rome*, two original impressions of our Saviour's Face, on two different handkerchiefs; the one, sent a present by himself to *Agbarus Prince of Edessa*, who by letter had desired a picture of him; the other, given by him at the time of his execution, to a *Saint*, or holy woman named *Veronica*, upon a handkerchief, which she had lent him to wipe his face on that occasion: both which handkerchiefs are still preserved, as they affirm, and now kept with the utmost reverence; the first in *St. Silvester's Church*; the second in *St. Peter's*; where in honor of this sacred relique, there is a fine altar built by *Pope Urban the VIIIth*, with the statue of *Veronica* herself, with the following inscription [i]:

SALVATORIS IMAGINEM VERONICAE
SVDARIO EXCEPTAM
VT LOCI MAIESTAS DECENTER
CVSTODIRET URBANVS VIII.
PONT. MAX.
MARMOREVM SIGNVM
ET ALTARE ADDIDIT CONDITORIVM
EXTRVXIT ET ORNAVIT.

But notwithstanding the authority of *this Pope*, and his inscription, this *VERONICA*, as one of their best authors has shewn [k], like *Amphibolus*, before-mentioned, was not any real person, but the name given to the picture itself by the old writers, who men-

[i] Vid. Aringh. Rom. Subterranean. home, where we may behold the pure face tom. ii. p. 453. of Christ.— See Conform. of Anc. & Mod. Ceremonies, p. 158.

There is a prayer in their books of offices, ordered by the rubric, to be addressed to this sacred and miraculous picture, in the following terms—*Conduct us, O thou blessed figure, to our proper* [k] Hæc Christi Imago à recentioribus *VERONICÆ* dicitur: imaginem ipsam veteres *VERONICAM* appellabant, &c. Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 88.

tion it; being formed by blundering and confounding the words *VERA ICON*, or *true Image*, the title inscribed perhaps, or given originally to the handkerchief, by the first contrivers of the imposture.

These stories however, as fabulous and childish as they appear to men of sense, are yet urged by grave authors in defence of their *Image-worship*, as certain proofs of it's *divine origin*, and sufficient to confound all the *impious opposers* of it [1].

I shall add nothing more on this article, than that whatever worship was paid by the *ancients* to their *heroes* or *inferior deities*, the *Romanists* now pay the same to their *Saints* and *Martyrs*; as their *own inscriptions* plainly declare; which, like those mentioned above of *St. Martina*, and the *Pantheon*, generally signify that the *honors*, which of old had been *impiously* given in that place to the *false God*, are now *piously* and *rightly* transferred to the *Christian Saint*: or, as one of their *celebrated Poets* expresses himself in regard to *St. George*,

*Ut Martem Latii, sic nos Te, Dive Georgi,
Nunc colimus, &c.*

Mantuan.

As *Mars* our Fathers once ador'd, so now
To Thee, O *George*, we humbly prostrate bow.

And every where through *Italy*, one sees their *sacred inscrip-*

[1] *Imaginem hanc ab Edesenorum civitate translatam, condigno ad hæc usque tempora venerationis cultu in D. Silvestri ecclesiâ, veluti divinum quid & perenne sacrarum imaginum monumentum, pariter ac propugnaculum adversus infanos Iconoclastas asservari, & suscipiendam fidelibus adorandamque proponi.*

Sacrofancta autem Redemptoris Ima-

go, gemmarum Thesauris quibusque longe anteferenda, in Vaticana Basilica, quo par est venerationis cultu asservatur. Aringh. Rom. Subt. t. ii. l. v. c. 4.

Effigie più d'ogni altra sublime è adoranda, par esser non fattura di mano Angelica o d'humana, mà del Fattor medesimo degli Angeli & degli huomini. Rom. Mod. Gior. i. Rion. di Bor.

tions.

tions speaking the pure language of *Paganism*, and ascribing the same *Powers*, *Characters*, and *Attributes* to their *Saints*, which had formerly been ascribed to the *Heathen Gods*; as the few here exhibited will evince.

Popish Inscriptions.	Pagan Inscriptions.
[m] MARIA ET FRANCISCE MERCVRIO ET MINERVAE TVTELARES MEI.	DIIS TVTELARIB. [n].

DIVO EVSTORGIO
QVI HVIC TEMPLO
PRAESIDET.

DII QVI HVIC TEMPLO
PRAESIDENT.

NVMINI
DIVI GEORGII
POLLENTIS POTENTIS
INVICTI.

NVMINI
MERCVRII SACR.
HERCVLI VICTORI
POLLENTI POTENTI
INVICTO
PRAESTITI IOVI

DIVIS
PRAESTITIBVSIVVANTIBVS
GEORGIO STEPHANOQVE
CVM DEO OPT. MAX.

S.
DIIS.
DEABVS
QVE. CVM
IOVE.

Boldonius censures the author of the last inscription, for the absurdity of putting the *Saints before God himself*; and imitating too closely the *ancient* inscription, which I have set against it, where the same impropriety is committed in regard to *Jupiter*.

Hast. As to that celebrated act of *Popish Idolatry*, the *Adoration of the Host*, I must confess, that I cannot find the least resemblance of it in any part of the *Pagan Worship*: and as oft as I have been

[m] Vid. Boldonii Epigraphica, p. 439. It. p. 348. It. p. 422. It. 649.
[n] Gruter. Corp. Inscript. p. 50. It. Cic. Or. pro Lege Man. 15. It. Grut. p. 54. It. p. 50. It. p. 22. It. ib. p. 2.

standing by at *Mafs*, and seen the whole congregation prostrate on the ground, in the humblest posture of adoring, at the *elevation of this consecrated piece of bread*; I could not help reflecting on a passage of *Tully*, where speaking of the absurdity of the *Heathens* in the choice of *their Gods*, *But was any man, says he, ever so mad as to take that which he feeds upon for a God* [o]? This was an extravagance reserved for *Popery* alone; and what an *old Roman* could not but think too gross, even for *Egyptian Idolatry* to swallow, is now become the *principal part of worship*, and the distinguishing *Article of Faith*, in the *Creed of modern Rome*.

But their *temples* are not the only places where we see the proofs and overt-acts of their *superstition*: the whole face of the country has the visible *characters* of *Paganism* upon it; and wherever we look about us, we cannot but find, as *St. Paul* did in *Athens* [p], clear evidence of it's being possessed by a *superstitious and idolatrous* people.

The *old Romans*, we know, had *their Gods*, who presided peculiarly over the *roads, streets, and highways*, called *Viales, Semitales, Compitales*: whose little *temples* or *altars* decked with *flowers*, or whose *statues* at least coarsely carved of wood or stone, were placed at convenient distances in the publick ways, for the benefit of travellers, who used to step aside to pay their devotions to these *rural Shrines*, and beg a prosperous journey and safety in their travels [q]. Now this custom prevails still so generally in all *popish countries*, but especially in *Italy*, that one can see no other difference between the *old* and *present superstition*, than that of changing

[o] Sed ecquem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, Deum credat esse? Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii.

[p] A&C. Apoft. xvii. 17.

[q] Ut religiosi vianitium moris est, cum aliquis locus, aut aliquis locus sanctus in via oblati est, votum postulare,

donum apponere, paulisper assidere.

Neque justius religiosam moram victori objecerit aut ara floribus redimita—aut truncus dolamine effigatus, &c.

Apuleii Florid. ii.

Invoco vos, Lares viales, ut me bene juvetis. Plaut. Merc. v. 2.

Hecate
Maria

the name of the *Deity*, and christening as it were the old *Hecate* in *trivius*, by the new name of *Maria* in *trivio*; by which title, I have observed one of their Churches dedicated in this city [r]: and as the Heathens used to paint over the ordinary *Statues of their Gods*, with red or some such gay color [s], so I have oft observed the coarse *Images of these Saints* so daubed over with a gaudy red, as to resemble exactly the description of the *God Pan* in *Virgil*;

Sanguineis ebuli baccis minioque rubentem.

Ecl. x.

Rustic Altars

In passing along the road, it is common to see travellers on their knees before these *rustic altars*; which none ever presume to approach without some act of reverence; and those, who are most in haste, or at a distance, are sure to pull off their Hats at least, in token of respect: and I took notice, that our postilions used to look back upon us, to see how we behaved on such occasions, and seemed surprized at our passing so negligently before places esteemed so sacred.

Wooden Crosses.

But besides these *Images and Altars*, there are frequently erected on the road huge *wooden crosses* [t], dressed out with flowers, and hung round with the trifling offerings of the country people; which always put me in mind of the *superstitious veneration*, which the *Heathens* used to pay to some old *trunks of trees* or posts, set up in the highways, which they held *sacred* [u], or of that *venerable Oak* in *Ovid*, covered with *garlands and votive offerings*:

Ovid's Oak.

Stabat in his ingens annoso robore quercus;

Una nemus: Vittæ mediam, memoresque tabellæ

Sertaque cingebant, voti argumenta potentis.

Met. viii.

[r] Rom. Modern. Gior. Rion. di Colonna, c. xi.

[s] Fictilem fuisse & ideo miniari solitum. Plin. Hist. N. l. xxxv. 12. & a Cenforibus Jovem miniandum locari. Ibid. l. xxxiii. 7. It. Pausan. ii. 2.

[t] Sanctæ Imagines & Cruces in viis publicis eriguntur, & nos propter Deum,

& puram erga sanctos ejus fidem, sancta ejusmodi ubique erecta adoramus & salutamus. Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 6.

[u] Nam veneror, seu stipem habet defertus in agris,

Seu vetus in trivio florida ferta lapis.

Tibul. El. i. 11.

Reverend

Rev'rend with Age a stately Oak there stood,
It's Branches widely stretch'd, itself a Wood,
With Ribbands, Garlands, Pictures cover'd o'er,
The Fruits of pious Vows from Rich and Poor.

This description of the *Pagan Oak* puts me in mind of a story, that I have met with here, of a *Popish Oak* very like it, viz. how a certain person, devoted to the worship of the *Virgin*, hung up a *picture of her* in an *Oak*, that he had in his vineyard, which grew so famous for *it's miracles*, that the *Oak* soon became covered with *votive offerings*, and *rich presents* from distant countries, so as to furnish a fund at last for the building of a *great Church* to the *miraculous picture*; which now stands dedicated in this city, under the title of *St. Mary of the Oak* [x].

Mary of the Oak,

But what gave me still the greater notion of the superstition of these countries, was to see those *little Oratories*, or *rural Shrines*, sometimes placed under the cover of a *tree* or *grove*; agreeably to the descriptions of the *old idolatry*, in the *sacred* as well as *profane* writers [y]; or more generally raised on some *eminence*, or, in the *phrase of Scripture*, on *high places*; the constant scene of *idolatrous worship* in all ages; it being an universal opinion among the *Heathens*, that the Gods in a peculiar manner loved to reside on *eminences* or *tops of mountains* [z]: which *Pagan notion* prevails still so generally with the *Papists*, that there is hardly a *rock* or *precipice*, how dreadful or difficult soever of access, that has not an *Oratory*, or *Altar*, or *Crucifix* at least, planted on the *top* of it.

Groves

High Places.

[x] Essendo egli divotissimo della Madonna, fece dipingere l'immagine di lei, e l'appese ad una Quercia—dove cominciò a manifestarsi con molti miracoli, intanto che sino dall' Africa, e da Constantinopoli l'erano mundati voti in tanta quantità, che vi si fece una gran

Chiesa.—Rom. Modern. Gior. iii. c. 30.
Rion. della Reg.

[y] Lucus & Ara Dianæ. Hor.

[z] Αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κορυφαῖς καθέζετο κύδι-
γών, II. ß. 50.

Tuque ex tuo edito Monte Latiali,
sanctæ Jupiter. Cic. pro Mil.

Abortions
baptised.

Among the rugged mountains of the Alps in Savoy, very near to a little town called *Modana*, there stands on the top of a rock, a chapel, with a miraculous Image of our Lady, which is visited with great devotion by the people, and sometimes, we were told, by the King himself; being famous, it seems, for a miracle of a singular kind, (*viz.*) the restoring of dead-born children to life; but so far onely, as to make them capable of Baptism, after which they again expire: and our landlord assured me, that there was daily proof of the truth of this miracle, in children brought from all quarters to be presented before this Shrine; who never failed to shew manifest tokens of life, by stretching out their arms, or opening their eyes, or even sometimes making water, whilst they were held by the priest in presence of the Image. All which appeared so ridiculous to a French gentleman, who was with me at the place, but had not heard the story from our landlord, that he looked upon it as a banter or fiction of my own, till I brought him to my author, who with his wife, as well as our Voiturins, very seriously testified the truth of it; and added farther, that when the French army passed that way in the last war, they were so impious, as to throw down this sacred Image to the bottom of a vast precipice hard by it, which, though of wood only, was found below entire and unhurt by the fall, and so replaced in it's Shrine, with greater honor than ever, by the attestation of this new miracle.

Senis

On the top of Mount Senis, the highest mountain of the Alps, in the same passage of Savoy, covered with perpetual snow, they have another Chapel, in which they perform divine service once a year, in the Month of August; and sometimes, as our guides informed us, to the destruction of the whole congregation, by the accident of a sudden tempest in a place so elevated and exposed. And this surely comes up to the description of that worship, which the Jews were commanded to extirpate from the face of the earth: "Ye shall utterly destroy the places wherein the nations served
" their

“ their Gods, upon the high mountains and upon the hills, and
 “ under every green tree : And ye shall overthrow their altars,
 “ break their pillars, burn their groves, and hew down the graven
 “ Images of their Gods [a].”

When we enter their towns, the case is still the same, as it was in the country ; we find every where the same marks of *Idolatry*, and the same reasons to make us fancy, that we are still treading *Pagan ground* ; whilst at every corner we see *Images* and *Altars*, with *lamps* or *candles* burning before them ; exactly answering to the descriptions of the *ancient writers* [b] ; and to what *Tertullian* reproaches the *Heathens* with, that *their streets, their markets, their baths were not without an idol* [c]. But above all, in the *pomp* and *solemnity* of their *Holy-days*, and especially their *religious processions*, we see the genuin remains of *Heathenism*, and proof enough to convince us, that this is still the same *Rome*, which *old Numa* first tamed and civilized by the *arts of religion* : who, as *Plutarch* says [d], “ by the institution of supplications and processions to the Gods, which inspire reverence, whilst they give pleasure to the spectators, and by pretended miracles, and divine apparitions, reduced the fierce spirits of his subjects under the power of superstition.”

Processions.

The descriptions of the *religious pomps and processions* of the *Heathens* come so near to what we see on every *festival of the Virgin* or other *Romish Saint*, that one can hardly help thinking these *Papish ones* to be still regulated by the *old ceremonial of Pagan Rome*. At these solemnities the *chief magistrate* used frequently to

[a] Deuteron. xii. 2, 3.

[b] Ἀγάλματα τῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ θεῶν. Xenoph. l. iv. It. Eurip. Elec. 387. Μετὰ δὲ Διὸς παῖσαι μὲν ἀγλαί, &c. Lucian. in Prometh.

... Omnibus vicis Statuæ, ad eas Thus & Cerei. Cic. Off. iii. 26.

[c] De Spectac. c. viii.

[d] Τὰ μὲν πολλὰ θυσίαις ἢ πομπαῖς ἢ χορείαις ἅμα σεμνότητι ἀφίστην ἐπίχαριν ἢ φιλόθεωπον ἥδονην ἐχούσαις δημαγωγῶν ἢ τιθασσέναν τὸ θυμοειδές, &c. ἰδέτε τὴν ἀφάριστον αὐτῶν ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας, &c. Ibid. Plutarch. in Numa, p. 16.

Apuleius.

assist in robes of ceremony; attended by the *Priests* in *surplices* [e], with *wax candles* in their hands, carrying upon a *pageant* or *thensa* the *Images of their Gods*, dressed out in their best cloaths: these were usually followed by the *principal youth* of the place, in *white linen vestments* or *surplices*, *singing hymns* in honor of the *God*, whose *festival* they were celebrating; accompanied by *crouds* of *all sorts*, that were initiated in the *same religion*, all with *flambeaux* or *wax candles* in their hands. This is the account which *Apuleius*, and other authors give us of a *Pagan procession*; and I may appeal to all, who have been abroad, whether it might not pass quite as well for the description of a *Popish one*. *Monsieur Tournesfort*, in his travels through *Greece*, reflects upon the *Greek Church*, for having retained and taken into their present worship many of the *old rites of Heathenism*, and particularly that of *carrying and dancing about the Images of the Saints in their processions, to singing and musick* [f]: the reflection is full as applicable to his own, as it is to the *Greek Church*, and the practice itself so far from giving scandal in *Italy*, that the learned Publisher of the *Florentine Inscriptions* takes occasion to shew the *conformity* between them and the *Heathens*, from this very instance of carrying about the *pictures of their Saints*, as the *Pagans* did those of their *Gods*, in their *sacred processions* [g].

Flagellantes

In one of these *processions*, made lately to *St. Peter's* in the time of *Lent*, I saw that *ridiculous penance* of the *flagellantes*, or *self-whippers*, who march with *whips* in their hands, and lash themselves as they go along, on the bare back, till it is *all* covered with

[e] Antifites sacrorum candido linteamine—ad usque vestigia strictim injecti. Deum proferebant insignes exuvias, quorum primus lucernam præmicantem clario porrigebat lumine, &c.—Eas amœnæ lætissimæ juventutis, veste niveâ prænitens sequebatur chorus, carmen ventum iterantes.—Magnus præterea

sexus utriusque numerus, lucernis, tædis, cereis, &c. Apul. ibid. Vid. Paulan. ii. 7.

[f] Tournesfort, Lit. iii. 44.

[g] Cui non abludunt (si sacra cum profanis conferre fas est) pictæ tabulæ Sanctorum imaginibus exornatæ, quæ, &c. Inscript. Antiq. Flor. p. 377.

blood ; in the same manner, as the *fanatical Priests* of *Bellona* or the *Syrian Goddess*, as well as the votaries of *Isis*, used to slash and cut themselves of old, in order to please the *Goddeſs*, by the sacrifice of their own blood : which mad piece of discipline we find frequently mentioned, and as oft ridiculed by the ancient writers.

Bellona
Isis.

But they have another exercise of the same kind, and in the same season of Lent, which, under the notion of penance, is still a more absurd mockery of all religion : when on a certain day, appointed annually for this discipline, men of all conditions assemble themselves towards the evening, in one of the Churches of the City ; where whips or lashes made of cords are provided, and distributed to every person present ; and after they are all served, and a short office of devotion performed ; the candles being put out, upon the warning of a little bell, the whole company begin presently to strip, and try the force of these whips on their own backs, for the space of near an hour : during all which time, the Church becomes, as it were, the proper Image of Hell : where nothing is heard but the noise of lashes and chains, mixed with the groans of these self-tormentors ; till satiated with their exercise, they are content to put on their cloaths, and the candles being lighted again, upon the tinkling of a second bell, they all appear in their proper dress.

Penance.

Seneca, alluding to the very same effects of *fanaticism* in *Pagan Rome*, says ; “ So great is the force of it on disordered minds, that “ they try to appease the Gods by such methods, as an enraged “ man would hardly take to revenge himself. But, if there be “ any Gods, who desire to be worshipped after this manner, they “ do not deserve to be worshipped at all : since the very worst of “ Tyrants, though they have sometimes torn and tortured people’s “ limbs, yet have never commanded men to torture themselves [b].”

Seneca

[b] Tantus est perturbatæ mentis furor, ut sic Dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem sæviunt. — Dii autem nullo debent coli genere, si

& hoc volunt——Teterrimi tyranni laceraverunt aliquorum membra ; neminem sua lacerare jusserunt. Seneca Fragm. apud Lipsii Elect. l. ii. 18.

But

Commodus.

But there is no occasion to imagine, that all the blood, which seems to flow on these occasions, really comes from the backs of these Bigots: for it is probable, that, like their *frantic Predecessors*, they may use some *craft*, as well as *zeal*, in this their fury; and I cannot but think, that there was a great deal of justice in that edict of the *Emperor Commodus*, with regard to these *Bellonarii*, or *whippers of antiquity*, though it is usually imputed to his cruelty, when he commanded, that they should not be suffered to impose upon the spectators, but be obliged to cut and slash themselves in good earnest [b].

Livy

If I had leisure to examine the *pretended miracles*, and *pious frauds* of the *Romish Church*, I should be able to trace them all from the same source of *Paganism*, and find, that the *Priests of new Rome* are not degenerated from their *predecessors*, in the art of forging these *holy impostures*; which, as *Livy* observes of *old Rome* [i], were always multiplied in proportion to the credulity and disposition of the poor people to swallow them.

Castor & Pollux

In the early times of the *republic*, in the war with the *Latins*, the *Gods Castor and Pollux* are said to have appeared on *white horses* in the *Roman army*, which by their assistance gained a complete victory: in memory of which, the *General Posthumus* vowed and built a *Temple publicly* to those *Deities*; and for a proof of the fact, there was shewn, we find, in *Cicero's* time, the *mark of the horses' hoofs* on a rock at *Regillum*, where they first appeared [k].

Now this *miracle*, with many others, that I could mention of the same kind [l], has, I dare say, as authentic an attestation, as

[b] Bellonæ servientes vere exsecrare brachium præcepit, studio crudelitatis. Lamprid. in Commodus, 9.

[i] Quæ quo magis credebant similes & religiosi homines, eo plura nuntiabantur. Liv. l. xxiv. 10.

[k] Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. iii. 5. Ib. ii. 2. Vid. de Div. i. 34.

[l] Cic. Nat. D. ii. 2. Plutar. in vita P. Æmil. Val. Max. c. viii. 1. L. Flor. l. i. 11. l. i. 12.

any which the *Papists* can produce: the decree of a *Senate* to confirm it; a *Temple* erected in consequence of it; *visible marks* of the fact on the spot where it was transacted; and all this supported by the concurrent testimony of the *best authors of antiquity*; amongst whom *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* says [m], that there were subsisting in his time at *Rome* many evident proofs of it's reality, besides a *yearly festival*, with a *solemn sacrifice* and *procession* in memory of it: yet for all this, these stories were but the jest of men of sense, even in the times of *Heathenism* [n]; and seem so extravagant to us now, that we wonder, how there could ever be any so simple, as to believe them.

What better opinion then can we have, of all those of the same stamp in the *Popish Legends*, which they have plainly built on this foundation, and copied from this very original? Nor content with barely copying, they seldom fail to improve the old story, with some additional forgery and invention of their own. Thus in the present case, instead of *two persons on white horses*, they take care to introduce *three*; and not only on *white horses*, but at the head of *white armies*; as in an old history of the holy wars, written by a pretended eye-witness, and published by *Mabillon*, it is solemnly affirmed of *St. George*, *Demetrius*, and *Theodorus* [o]: They shew us too in several parts of *Italy*, the *marks of hands* and *feet* on *rocks* and *stones*, said to have been effected miraculously by the appari-

St. George

[m] Dion. Halic. l. vi. p. 337. Edit. Hudson.

[n] Aut si hoc fieri potuisset dicis, doceas oportet, quomodo, nec fabellas aniles proferas. Cic. ibid. iii. 5.

[o] Tres itaque milites persequentes illos sedebant super albos equos---credenda est ista veritas, & nullo modo prohibenda---hoc vero firmatum est testimonio eorundem Turcorum---Isti vero fuerunt Christi milites Sanctus Demetrius, Sanctus Georgius, & Sanctus The-

odorus, quos Deus mandavit, &c.

Adjuvante eos Domino & visibiliter mittente eis in-adjutorium sanctos suos Bellatores, videl. Demetrium multotiens, aliquando Georgium, necnon & interdum Theodorum; aliquando totos tres cum suis dealbatis exercitibus, videntibus non solum Christi militibus, sed etiam ipsis inimicis Paganis, &c. Vid. Bell. Sac. Hist. in Mabill. Iter. Ital. t. i. Par. ii. p. 138, 155.

tion of some *Saint* or *Angel* on the spot [*p*]: just as the *impression* of *Hercules's* feet was shewn of old on a stone in *Scythia* [*q*], exactly resembling the footsteps of a man. And they have also many *Churches* and public monuments [*r*] erected, in testimony of such miracles, viz. of *Saints* and *Angels* fighting visibly for them in their battles; which though always as ridiculous as that above-mentioned, are not yet supported by half so good evidence of their reality [*s*].

Ceres

“ The religion of *Ceres* of *Enna* was celebrated, as *Cicero* informs us, with a wonderfull devotion, both in public and private, through all *Sicily*: for her presence and divinity had been frequently manifested to them by numerous prodigies, and many people had received immediate help from her in their utmost distress. Her Image therefore in that Temple was held in such veneration, that whenever men beheld it, they fancied themselves beholding either *Ceres* herself, or the figure of her at least not made by human hands, but dropt down to them from heaven [*t*].” Now if, in the place of *Ceres* of *Enna*, we should in-

[*p*] Si conserva poi in questa Chiesa una pietra, sopra la quale apparendo l'Angelo in Castello, vi lascio le piante de suoi piedi impresse, e d'un fanciullo paiono le vestigia. R. Mod. Gior. v. Rion. di Campetali, c. 1.

[*q*] Herodot. l. iv. p. 4. 251. Edit. Lond.

[*r*] There is an Altar of marble in *St. Peter's*, one of the greatest pieces of modern sculpture, representing in figures as large as the life, the story of *Attila* King of the *Huns*, who in full march towards *Rome* with a victorious army, in order to pillage it, was frightened and driven back by the apparition of an Angel, in the time of Pope *Leo* the first.

The Castle and Church of *St. Angelo*

have their title from the apparition of an Angel over the place, in the time of *Gregory* the Great. Rom. Moder. Giorn. i. Rion. di Borgo i.

[*s*] Divum Jacobum nationis Hispanicæ, qui armatus sæpe visus in sublime præire ac protegere acies Hispanorum, nobilesq; iis victorias in sacris bellis conciliare. Boldonii Epigraph. l. ii. p. 349.

[*t*] Mira quædam tota *Sicilia* privatim ac publice religio est *Cereris* *Ennensis*. Etenim multa sæpe prodigia vim ejus numenque declarant: multis sæpe in difficillimis rebus præsens auxilium ejus oblatum est, &c. In Verr. iv. 49.

Alterum autem *Ennæ* (simulacrum *Cereris*) erat tale, ut hominis cum vi-

fert

Lady of Loretta

fert into this relation, *our Lady of Loretto*, or of *Impruneta*, or any other *miraculous Image in Italy*; the very same account would suit as exactly with the history of the modern Saint, as it is told by the present *Romans*, as it formerly did with that of *Ceres*, as it is transmitted to us by the Ancients. And what else indeed are all their *miraculous Images*, which we see in every great town, said to be made by *Angels*, and sent to them from *heaven* [u], but mere copies of the ancient *Fables*, or the Διοπετιὲς Ἀγάλματα, or *Image of Diana dropt from the clouds* [w]; or the *Palladium of Troy*, which, according to *old Authors* [x], was a wooden statue three cubits long, which *fell from heaven*.

In one of their *Churches* here, they shew a *picture of the Virgin*, which, as their Writers affirm [y], was brought down from *heaven* with great pomp, and after having hung a while with surprising luster in the air, in the *sight of all the Clergy and people of Rome*, was delivered by *Angels* into the hands of *Pope John the First*, who marched out in solemn procession, in order to receive this *celestial present*. And is not this exactly of a piece with the old *Pagan story of King Numa*, when, in this same City, he issued from his palace, with *Priests and people* after him, and with *public prayer and solemn devotion* received the *ancile*, or *heavenly shield*, which, in the presence of all the *people of Rome*, was sent down to him with much the same formality from the clouds [z]? And as

Pope John

Numa

derent, aut ipsam se videre Cererem, aut effigiem Cereris, non humana manu factam, sed cælo delapsam arbitrarentur. Ib. v. 7.

[u] Sed quorum hic Sancti Domini imaginem, quæ apud Surrianum in Calabria jugibus nunc miraculis præfulget, silentio obvolvimus? de Cælo quippe, ut pia traditio est, hæc primum anno 1530 delata validissimum adversus

impios iconoclastas propugnaculum exhibet. Aring. Rom. Subter. l. v. c. 5.

De imagine illa, quæ cum ab Angelis consecrata fuerit, ἀγγελότυπον vocatur, nil nisi tritum succurrit. Montfauc. Diar. ibid. 137.

[w] Act. Apost. c. xix. 35.

[x] Vid. Pitisci Lexic. Antiquitat.

[y] Vid. Rom. Modern. Giorn. ii. Rion. di Ripa, c. xliii.

[z] A media Cælum regione dehiscere cœpit:

Submisere oculos cum duce turba suos.

that wise Prince, for the security of his *heavenly present*, ordered several others to be made so exactly like it, that the *original* could not be distinguished [a]; so the *Romish Priests* have thence taken the hint, to form, after each *celestial pattern*, a number of *copies*, so perfectly resembling each other, as to occasion endless squabbles among themselves about their several pretensions to the *divine original*.

Rod of Moses
of Romulus

The *rod of Moses*, with which he performed his *miracles*, is still preserved, as they pretend, and shewn here with great devotion, in one of the principal *Churches*: and just so the *rod of Romulus*, with which he performed his *auguries*, was preserved by the *Priests*, as a *sacred relique* in old *Rome*, and kept with great reverence from being *touched or handled* by the people [b]: which *rod* too, like most of the *Popish reliques*, had the testimony of a *miracle* in proof of it's sanctity; for when the *Temple*, where it was kept, was burnt to the ground, it was found intire under the *ashes*, and untouched by the *flames* [c]: which same *miracle* has been borrowed and exactly copied by the *present Romans*, in many instances; particularly, in a *miraculous Image* of our Saviour in *St. John Lateran*; over which the *flames*, it seems, had no power, though the *Church itself* has been twice destroyed by fire [d].

Ecce levi scutum versatum leniter aura

Decidit, a populo clamor ad astra venit, &c.

Ov. Fast. l. iii.

[a] Plura jubet fieri simili cœlata figurâ;

Error ut ante oculos insidiantis eat;

Ov. Fast. l. iii.

[b] Παραλαβόντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ ξύλον
ὡς περ ἄλλό τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀψαυσον ἐφύ-
λαττον. Plutar. in Camil. 145. D.

[c] Possunt & illa miraculorum loco
poni: Quod deusto sacrario Saliorum,
nihil in eo præter lituum Romuli inte-
grum repertum est. Valer. Max. c.

viii. 10. It. Cic. de Divin. i. 17. Plut.
in Rom.

[d] E questa immagine non s'abbruciò,
essendo la Chiesa stata abbruciata due
volte. Rom. Moder. Gior. vi. Rion. di
Monti xi.

Nothing

Nothing is more common among the *miracles of Popery*, than to hear of *Images*, that on certain occasions had spoken; or shed tears; or sweat; or bled: and do not we find the very same stories in all the *Heathen Writers*? Of which I could bring numberless examples from *old* as well as *new Rome*, from *Pagan* as well as *Papish legends*. Rome, as the Describer of it says [e], *abounds with these treasures, or speaking Images*: but he laments the negligence of their ancestors, in not recording, so particularly as they ought, the *very words and other circumstances of such conversations*. They shew us here an *Image of the Virgin*, which reprimanded Gregory the Great, for passing by her too carelessly: and, in St. Paul's Church, a crucifix, which spoke to St. Bridgeth [f]. *Durantis* mentions another Madonna, which *spoke to the sexton, in commendation of the piety of one of her votaries* [g]. And did not the *Image of Fortune* do the same, or more, in *old Rome*? Which, as Authors say, *spoke twice in praise of those matrons, who had dedicated a Temple to her* [h].

Speaking Images.

They have a Church here dedicated to *St. Mary the Weeper*, or to a *Madonna* famous for shedding tears [i]: They shew an *Image* too of *our Saviour*, which for some time before the *Sacking of Rome* wept so heartily, that the *good fathers of the Monastery* were

Weeping Images.

[e] Non si puo negare, che per le grande abbondanza, che ha' Roma in simili tesori, non siano stati negligentissimi i nostri Maggiori, in darne buon conto à poster loro. Rom. Mod. R. di Monti xxi.

[f] Vi è una Madonna detta di St. Gregorio, della quale si dice, che un giorno passando il detto Pontifice, & non salutandola, gli dicess, &c. Ibid. Gior. v. Rion. di Campetalli.

Ad sanctum Paulum, ubi vidimus ligneam Crucifixi imaginem, quem sancta

Brigida sibi loquentem audivisse perhibetur. Mabill. D. Italic. p. 133.

[g] Imaginem Sanctæ Mariæ custodem Ecclesiæ allocutam & Alexii singularem pietatem commendasse. Durant. de Rit. l. i. c. 5.

[h] Fortunæ item Muliebris simulacrum, quod est in via Latina, non semel, sed bis locutum constitit, his præne verbis: Bene me, matronæ, vidistis, ritæque dedicastis. Valer. Max. i. 8.

[i] S. Maria del Pianto. Rom. Mod. Gior. iii. Rion. della Regola v.

all employed in *wiping its face with cotton* [k]: And was not the case just the same among their *ancestors*, when on the approach of some public calamity, the *statue of Apollo*, as *Livy* tells us, *wept for three days and nights successively* [l]? They have another *Church* built in honor of an *Image*, which *bled very plentifully*, from a blow given to it by a blasphemer [m]: And were not the *old Idols* too as *full of blood*, when, as *Livy* relates, *all the Images in the temple of Juno were seen to sweat with drops of it* [n]?

All which *prodigies*, as well *modern* as *ancient*, are derived from the same source, *viz.* the *contrivance of priests or governors*, in order to draw some gain or advantage out of the poor people, whom they thus impose upon.

Xenophon

Xenophon, though himself much addicted to *superstition*, speaking of the *Prodigies*, which preceded the battle of *Leuctra*, and portended victory to the *Thebans*, tells us, that *some people looked upon them all as forged and contrived by the magistrates* [o], the better to animate and encourage the multitude: and as the *originals* themselves were but *impostures*, it is no wonder, that the *copies* of them appear such *gross* and *bungling forgeries*.

Herodotus.

I have observed a story in *Herodotus* [p], not unlike the account, which is given of the *famed travels of the house of Loretto*; of certain *sacred mystical things*, that travelled about from country

[k] Dicono, ch'avanti il sacco di Roma pianse piu volte, e li Padri ci venifero ad asciugar le lagrime con bombace. Ib. Gior. vi. Rio di Mon. xxxi.

[l] Apollo triduum & tres noctes lacrymavit. Liv. l. xliii. 13.

[m] Comminciarono a tirarle de' sassi nel viso, e n' uscì sangue, del quale si vedono insin' hora i segni, &c. Rom. Mod. Gior. iii. Rio. di Ponte xvii.

[n] Signa ad Junonis Sospitæ sudore manavere. Liv. xxiii. 31.

Ad lucum Feroniæ sanguine sudarunt. Ib. xxvii. 4.

[o] Οἱ μὲν δὲ τινες λέγουσιν ὡς ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα ἦν τῶν προσηκόντων. Xenoph. Ellen. l. vi.

[p] Herodot. l. iv. p. 235. Edit. Lond.

to country, and, after many removals and journeys, settled at last, for good and all, in *Delus*. But this imposture of the *holy house* might be suggested rather, as Mr. *Addison* has observed [g], by the extraordinary veneration paid in old Rome to the cottage of it's founder *Romulus*: which was held sacred by the people, and repaired with great care from time to time, with the same kind of materials, so as to be kept up in the same form, in which it was originally built [r]. It was turned also, I find, like this other cottage of our Lady, into a temple, and had divine service performed in it, till it happened to be burnt down by the fire of a sacrifice in the time of *Augustus* [s]: but what makes the similitude still more remarkable is, that this pretended cottage of *Romulus* was shewn on the *Capitoline Hill* [t]; whereas it is certain, that *Romulus* himself lived on *Mount Palatin* [u]: so that, if it had really been the house of *Romulus*, it must needs, like the *holy house* of *Loretto*, have taken a leap in the air, and suffered a miraculous translation, though not from so great a distance, yet from one hill at least to the other.

But if we follow their own writers, it is not the *holy house* of *Loretto*, but the homely cradle of our Saviour, that we should compare rather with the little house of *Romulus*: which cradle is now shewn in *St. Mary the Great*, and on *Christmas-day* exposed on the high altar to the adoration of the people; being held in the same veneration by present Rome, as the humble cottage of it's

cradle,

[g] *Addison's Travels from Pesaro to Rome.*

[r] *Dion. Halicar. l. i.*

[s] Σκηνή ἢ τὸ Ῥωμύλει ἐξ ἱερουργίας τινός, ἣν οἱ ποσὶφικες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεποιήκασαν, ἐκαύθη. *Dio. l. xlviii. p. 383.*

[t] Per *Romuli* casam, perque veteris *Capitolii* humilia tecta juro. *Val. Max. l. iv. c. ii.*

Item in *Capitolio* commonefacere po-

test & significare mores vetustatis *Romuli* casa in arce sacrorum. *Vitruv. l. ii. c. i.* Vid. etiam *Macrob. Sat. i. 15. Virg. Æn. viii. 65.*

[u] Περὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν ἱππιδεσμον τὸν μέγαν ἐν Παλάτις κατέβασιν. *Plutarch. in Rom. p. 30.*

Ῥωμύλει μὲν τὸ Παλάτιον κατέχων, Τάτιος δὲ τὸ Καπιτώλιον. *Dion. Hal. l. ii. p. 110. Ed. Hudf.*

founder

founder had been by it's *old inhabitants*. *Rome*, says *Baronius* [x],
 "Is now in possession of that noble monument of Christ's Na-
 "vity, made only of wood, without any ornament of silver or
 "gold, and is made more happily illustrious by it, than it was of
 "old by the cottage of *Romulus*; which, though built only with
 "mud and straw, our ancestors preserved with great care for ma-
 "ny ages."

Januarius

The *melting of St. Januarius's Blood at Naples*, whenever it is brought to his *head*, which is done with great solemnity on the day of his *festival* [y], whilst at all other times it continues dried and congealed in a glass phial, is one of the *standing* and most *authentic miracles of Italy*. Yet Mr. *Addison*, who twice saw it performed, assures us, that instead of appearing to be a *real miracle*, he thought it *one of the most bungling tricks, that he had ever seen* [z].

Mabillon's account of the fact seems to solve it very naturally, without the help of a *miracle* [a]: for during the time that a *Mass* or two are celebrated in the Church, the other priests are tampering with this *phial of blood*, which is *suspended all the while in such a situation, that as soon as any part of it begins to melt by the heat of their hands, or other management, it drops of course into the lower side of the glass which is empty*; upon the first discovery of which, the *miracle* is proclaimed aloud, to the great joy and edification of the people.

[x] Porro in Christi natalis nobile monumentum ex ligno confectum nullaque argenti vel auri cælaturâ confectum, Roma possidet, eoque multo felicius illustratur quàm tugurio Romuli, &c. Vid. Baron. An. i. Christi v. It. Aring. Rom. Subt. l. vi. 1.

[y] De sancti Januarii cruore mirum quiddam narratur in Breviario Romano — quod ejus sanguis, qui in ampulla vitrea concretus asservatur, cum in con-

spectu capitis ponitur, admirandum in modum colliquifieri videtur. Aringh. Rom. Subt. l. i. 16.

[z] Addison's Trav. at Naples.

[a] Ad præsentiam capitis colliquifieri videtur, ampullâ eâ parte, qua sanguis, naturaliter in subiectam ampullæ partem cadere debet, suspensâ; missa interim una duæve, dum sanguis decidat, celebrantur. Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 106.

But by what way soever it be effected, it is plainly nothing else, but the *copy of an old cheat* of the *same* kind, transacted near the *same* place, which *Horace* makes himself merry with in his journey to *Brundisium*; telling us, how the priests would have imposed upon him and his friends, at a town called *Gnatia*, by persuading them, that the *Frankincense* in the temple used to dissolve and melt miraculously of itself, without the help of fire [b].

Horace.

In the *Cathedral Church of Ravenna*, I saw in *Mosaic work* the pictures of those *Archbishops* of the place, who, as all their historians affirm [c], were chosen for several ages successively by the special designation of the *Holy Ghost*, who, in a full assembly of the Clergy and People, used to descend visibly on the *person elect*, in the *shape of a Dove*. If the fact of such a descent be true, it will easily be accounted for by a passage in *Aulus Gellius* (whence the hint was probably taken) who tells us of *Archytas* the *Philosopher* and *Mathematician*, that he formed a *Pigeon of wood* so artificially, as to make it fly by the power of *Mechanism*, just as he directed it [d]. And we find from *Strada*, that many tricks of this kind were actually contrived for the diversion of *Charles the Fifth* in his Monastery, by one *Turrianus*, who made little birds fly out of the room and back again, by his great skill in *Machinery* [e].

Jov.

It would be endless to run through all the *Popish Miracles*, which are evidently forged, or copied from the originals of *Paganism*; since there is scarce a *Prodigy* in the *old Historians*, or a *Fable*

[b] Hor. Sat. i. v. ver. 98.

lit. Hist. Raven. &c. Aringh. Rom.

[c] Quis enim nescit, quod sacræ tes-

Subt. l. vi. c. 48.

tantur historiæ, tunc temporis cum Fabianus in summum Pontificem salutatus est, Columbam cœlitus advenisse, ejusque capiti insidendo suffragium detulisse? &c. Hoc idem in compluribus Ravennatum Episcoporum electionibus solenne extitit, quorum memoriam Rubeus reco-

[d] Plerique nobilium Græcorum affirmatissime scripserunt, simulachrum Columbæ e ligno ab Archyta ratione quadam, disciplinaque mechanica factum, volasse: Ita erat libramētis suspensum, &c. A. Gell. Noct. Att. l. x. 12.

[e] Vid. Gronovii Net. in Gell. Ibid.

in the *old Poets*, but what is transcribed into *their Legends*, and swallowed by their silly Bigots, as certain and undoubted facts.

Arion, Dolphin

The story of *Arion the Musician*, riding triumphant with his harp on the back of a *Dolphin*, that took him up when thrown over-board at Sea, is, one would think, too grossly fabulous, to be applied to any purpose of Christian *Superstition*: Yet our present Romans so far surpass the old in *Fable* and *Imposture*, that out of this single story they have coined many of the same stamp, viz. of *Dolphins taking up and bringing ashore* with great pomp several of *their Saints*, both dead and alive, who had been thrown into the Sea by *Infidels*, either to drown, or to deprive them of burial [f].

Harpies.

The fable of the *Harpies*, those *furies* or *winged monsters*, who were so troublesome to *Æneas* and his *Companions* [g], seems to be copied in the very first Church within the walls of Rome, close to the gate of the people, as it is called, by which we enter it from the north: where there is an *Altar* with a *public Inscription* [b], signifying, that it was built by *Pope Paschal the Second*, by *divine Inspiration*, in order to drive away a nest of huge *dæmons* or *monsters*, who used to perch upon a tree in that very place, and terribly insult all who entered the city.

[f] Quos Judex submersos in mare penso plura infra suo loco. Aringh.
necavit; sed Delphinatorum obsequio cor- Rom. Subterr. l. i. c. 9, 10.
pora eorum ad litus delata sunt: Sed de [g] Virg. Æn. iii. 211.
obsequio Delphinatorum martyribus im-

[b] Altare à Paschali Papa II. divino afflatu
ritu solemnè hoc loco erectum,
quo dæmones proceros
nucis arbori infidentes,
transcurrentem hinc populum dirè insultantes,
confestim expulit,
Urbani VIII. pont. max. auctoritate
excelliorem in locum quem conspicis
translatum fuit
An. Dom. M.DC.XXVII.

The

The *Popish Writers* themselves are forced to allow, that many both of *their reliques* and *their miracles* have been forged by the craft of *Priests*, for the sake of money and lucre. *Durantus*, a zealous defender of *all their ceremonies*, gives several instances of the former; particularly of *the bones of a common thief*, which had for some time been honored with an altar, and worshipped under the title of a *Saint* [i]. And for the latter; *Lyra*, in his *Comment on Bel and the Dragon*, observes, that sometimes also in the Church, very great cheats are put upon the people, by false miracles, contrived, or countenanced at least, by their priests for some gain and temporal advantage [k]. And what their own authors confess of some of their miracles, we may venture, without any breach of charity, to believe of them all; nay, we cannot indeed believe any thing else without impiety; and without supposing God to concur in an extraordinary manner, to the establishment of fraud, error, and superstition in the world.

The refuge or protection given to all, who fly to the Church for shelter, is a privilege directly transferred from the *beatben temples* to the *Popish Churches*; and has been practised in *Rome*, from the time of its founder *Romulus*; who, in imitation of the *Cities of Greece*, opened an *Afylum* or *Sanctuary* to fugitives of all Nations [l].

Afylum.

But we may observe the great moderation of *Pagan*, above that of *Popish Rome*, in regard to this custom; for I do not remember that there ever was more than one *Afylum* in the times of the Re-

[i] S. Martinus altare, quod in honorem Martyris extructum fuerat, cum ossa & reliquias cujusdam latronis esse deprehendisset, submoveri jussit. Durant. de Ritib. l. i. c. 25.

[k] Aliquando fit in Ecclesia maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis à fa-

cerdotibus, vel eis adhærentibus propter lucrum temporale, &c. Vid. Nic. Lyr. in Dan. c. xiv.

[l] Romulus, ut saxo lucum circumdedit alto,

Quilibet huc, inquit, confuge, tutus eris. Ov. Fast. iii.

public; whereas there are now *some hundreds* in the same city; and when that single one (which was opened rather for the increase of it's inhabitants, than the protection of criminals) was found in the end to give too great encouragement to mischief and licentiousness; they enclosed it round in such a manner, as to hinder all access to it [m]: whereas the present *Popish Sanctuaries* stand perpetually open, not to receive strangers, but to shelter villains; so that it may literally be said of these, what our Saviour said of the Jewish temple, that they have turned the House of Prayer into a Den of Thieves [n].

In the early ages of Christianity there were many limitations put upon the use of this privilege by Emperors and councils; and the greater crimes of murder, adultery, theft, &c. were especially excepted from the benefit of it [o]: but now they scruple not to receive to *sanctuary*, even the most detestable crimes; and it is owing without doubt to this policy of holy Church, that murders are so common with them in Italy on slight provocations; whilst there is a Church always at hand and always open, to secure offenders from legal punishment; several of whom have been shewn to me in different places, walking about at their ease, and in full security within the bounds of their *sanctuary*.

In their very Priesthood they have contrived, one would think, to keep up as near a resemblance as they could, to that of Pagan Rome: and the sovereign Pontif, instead of deriving his succession from St. Peter, (who, if ever he was at Rome, did not reside there at least in any worldly pomp or splendor) may with more reason, and a much better plea, style himself the Successor of the [p] Pontifex

[m] Οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοφράζοντι, ὥστε μηδὲνα ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐσελθεῖν εἰς αὐτὸ δαυνηθῆναι. Dio. l. xlvii. p. 385.

[n] Matth. xxi. 13.

[o] Neque Homicidis, neque Adulters, neque virginum raptoribus, &c.

terminorum custodies cautelam; fed etiam inde extrahes, & supplicium eis inferes. Justin. Novel. xvii. c. 7.

[p] Multa divinitus, Pontifices, a majoribus nostris inventa, nihil præclarior, quam quod vos eosdem, & religionibus

Maximus,

Maximus, or chief Priest of old Rome; whose authority and dignity was the greatest in the Republic; and who was looked upon as the arbiter or judge of all things, civil as well as sacred, human as well as divine: whose power, established almost with the foundation of the City, “was an omen (says Polydore Vergil) and sure “presage of that priestly Majesty, by which Rome was once again “to reign as universally, as it had done before by the force of it’s “arms-[q].”

Pontifex maximus.

But of all the sovereign Pontiffs of Pagan Rome, it is very remarkable that *Caligula* was the first, who ever offered his foot to be kissed by any, who approached him: which raised a general indignation through the City, to see themselves reduced to suffer so great an indignity. Those, who endeavoured to excuse it, said, that it was not done out of insolence, but vanity; and for the sake of shewing his golden slipper, set with jewels. *Seneca* declaims upon it, in his usual manner, as the last affront to liberty; and the introduction of a Persian slavery into the manners of Rome [r]. Yet this servile act, unworthy either to be imposed or complied with by man, is now the standing ceremonial of Christian Rome, and a necessary condition of access to the reigning Popes; though derived from no better origin, than the frantic pride of a brutal Pagan Tyrant.

Slipper

Deorum Immortalium & summæ Reipublicæ præesse voluerunt. Cic. pro Dom. i.

Maximus Pontifex dicitur, quod maximus rerum, quæ ad sacra & religiones pertinent, iudex sit, vindexque contumaciæ privatorum, magistratumque. Fest. l. xi. in voce *Max*.

Quod Iudex atque Arbiter habetur rerum divinarum, humanarumque. Id. in *Ordo Sacerdotum*.

T. Coruncanium Pontificatu maximo ad principale extulere fastigium. Vell. Pater. l. ii. 128.

[q] Certum portentum quo est significatum, Urbem Romam postremo perinde Pontificia Majestate, qua nunc late patet, gentibus moderaturam, atque olim potentia imperasset. Pol. Verg. Inv. rer. l. iv. 14.

[r] Absoluto & gratias agenti porrexit osculandum sinistrum pedem—qui excusant, negant id insolentiæ causa factum; ajunt Socculum auratum, imo aureum, margaritis distinctum ostendere eum voluisse—natus in hoc, ut mores civitatis Persica servitute mutaret, &c. Senec. de Benef. l. ii. 12.

Monks

Nuns

The great variety of their religious orders and societies of Priests seems to have been formed upon the plan of the old colleges or fraternities of the Augurs, Pontifices, Salii, Fratres Arvales, &c. The Vestal virgins might furnish the hint for the foundation of Numeries: and I have observed something very like to the rules and austerities of the monastic life, in the character and manner of several Priests of the Heathens, who used to live by themselves, retired from the world, near to the Temple or Oracle of the Deity, to whose particular service they were devoted; as the Selli, the Priest of Dodonæan Jove, a self-mortifying race [s].

ἀμφὶ ᾧ Σελλοὶ
Σὺν ναῖσσι' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.

Il. xvii. 234.

Whose groves the Selli, race austere, surround;
Their feet unwash'd, their slumbers on the ground. Mr. Pope.

Mendicants

But above all, in the old descriptions of the lazy mendicant Priests among the Heathens, who used to travel [t] from house to house, with sacks on their backs; and, from an opinion of their sanctity, raise large contributions of money, bread, wine, and all kind of victuals, for the support of their fraternity, we see the very picture of the begging Friars; who are always about the street in the

[s] Τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἥντιν' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλων χωρὶς ἀφωλεμῆεν. Plato in Timæo, p. 1044.

From the character of these Selli, or as others call them Elli, the Monks of the Pagan World, seated in the fruitful Soil of Dodona; abounding, as Hesiod describes it, with every thing, that could make life easy and happy; and whither no man ever approached them without an offering in his hands, we may learn, whence their successors of modern times have derived that peculiar skill or pre-

scriptive right, of chusing the richest part of every country for the place of their settlement. Vid. Sophoc. Trachin. p. 340. v. 1175. Edit. Turneb. & Schol. Triclin.

[t] Stipes æreas, immo vero & argenteas, multis certatim offerentibus sinu recipere patulo; nec non & vini cadum & lactis & caseos avidis animis corradentes & in sacculos huic quæstui de industria præparatos farcientes, &c. Apuleius Metam. l. viii. p. 262.

same habit, and on the same errand, and never fail to carry home with them a good sack full of provisions for the use of their convent.

Cicero, in his book of laws, restrains this practice of begging, or gathering alms, to one particular order of Priests, and that only on certain days; because, as he says [u], *it propagates superstition and impoverishes families.* Which, by the way, may let us see the policy of the Church of Rome, in the great care, that they have taken to multiply their begging orders.

Cicero

I could easily carry-on this parallel, through many more instances of the Pagan and Popish ceremonies, if I had not already said enough, to shew from what spring all that superstition flows, which we so justly charge them with, and how vain an attempt it must be, to justify, by the principles of Christianity, a worship formed upon the plan, and after the very pattern of pure Heathenism. I shall not trouble myself with enquiring at what time, and in what manner these several corruptions were introduced into the Church: whether they were contrived by the intrigues and avarice of Priests, who found their advantage in reviving and propagating impostures, which had been of old so profitable to their predecessors: or whether the genius of Rome was so strongly turned to fanaticism and superstition, that they were forced, in condescension to the humor of the people, to dress up their new religion to the modes and fopperies of the old. This, I know, is the principle, by which their own Writers defend themselves, as oft as they are attacked on this head.

Aringbus, in his account of *subterraneous Rome*, acknowledges this conformity between the Pagan and Popish rites, and defends the admission of the ceremonies of Heathenism into the service of the Church, by the authority of their wisest Popes and Governors [w],

[u] Stipem sustulimus, nisi eam quam ad paucos dies propriam Idææ Matris excepimus: Implet enim superstitione animos, exhaurit domos. Cic. de Legib. l. ii. 9, 16.

[w] Ac maximi subinde Pontifices

“ who

“ who found it necessary, *he says*, in the conversion of the *Gentiles*,
 “ to dissemble and wink at many things, and yield to the times;
 “ and not to use force against customs, which the people were so
 “ obstinately fond of; nor to think of extirpating at once every
 “ thing, that had the appearance of profane; but to supersede in
 “ some measure the obligation of the sacred laws; till these con-
 “ verts, convinced by degrees, and informed of the whole truth,
 “ by the suggestions of the Holy Spirit, should be content to sub-
 “ mit in earnest to the Yoke of *Christ*.”

Jesuits.

It is by the same principles, that the *Jesuits* defend the *concessions*, which they make at this day to their *Proselytes* in *China*; who, where pure Christianity will not go down, never scruple to compound the matter between *Jesus* and *Confucius*; and prudently allow, what the *stiff old Prophets* so impolitically condemned, a *partnership between God and Baal*: of which, though they have often been accused at the *Court of Rome*, yet I have never heard, that their conduct has been censured. But this kind of reasoning, how plausible soever it may be, with regard to the first ages of Christianity, or to nations just converted from *Paganism*, is so far from excusing the present *Gentilism* of the *Church of Rome*, that it is a direct condemnation of it; since the necessity alledged for the practice, if ever it had any real force, has not, at least for many ages past, at all subsisted: and their toleration of such practices, however useful at first for reconciling *Heathens* to *Christianity*, seems now to be the readiest way, to drive *Christians* back again to *Heathenism*.

quamplurima primâ quidem facie dissimulanda duxere, optimum videlicet rationi temporari cederendum esse; suadebant quippe sibi, haud ullam adversus gentilios ritus vim, utpote qui mordicus a fidelibus retinebantur, adhibendam esse; neque ullatenus enitendum, ut quicquid

profanos saperet mores, omnino tolleretur, quin imo quam maxima utendum lenitate, sacrarumque legum ex parte intermittendum imperium arbitrabantur, &c. Vid. Aring. Rom. Subter. tom. i. l. i. c. 21.

But

But it is high time for me to conclude, being persuaded, if I do not flatter myself too much, that I have sufficiently made good, what I at first undertook to prove; an *exact Conformity*, or *Uniformity* rather, of *Worship*, between *Popery* and *Paganism*: for since, as I have shewn above, we see the *present people of Rome* worshipping in the *same Temples*; at the *same Altars*; sometimes the *same Images*; and always with the *same Ceremonies*, as the *old Romans*; they must have more *charity*, as well as *skill in distinguishing*, than I pretend to have, who can absolve them from the *same superstition and idolatry*, of which we condemn their *Pagan Ancestors*.

POST-

POST-SCRIPT.

Warburton.

AFTER I had sent these Papers to the Press, I happened to meet with a Paragraph, in *Mr. Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses*, which obliges me to detain the reader a little longer, in order to obviate the prejudices, which the authority of so celebrated a writer may probably inject to the disadvantage of my argument; which, though it has been maintained, as he observes, by many able writers, he has taken occasion to condemn, as an *utter mistake, and a misapplication of their time and learning, in the pursuit of a false principle.*

The paragraph runs thus;

“ There is nothing obstructs our discoveries in antiquity, (as far
 “ as relates to the knowledge of mankind) so much as that false
 “ though undisputed principle, that the general customs of men
 “ (in which a common likeness connects, as in a chain, the man-
 “ ners of it's inhabitants, quite round the globe) are all, whether
 “ civil or religious, traductive from one another. Whereas in
 “ truth, the original of this similitude, is the voice of one common
 “ nature, improved by reason, or debased by superstition, speaking
 “ to all it's tribes of individuals. But it is no wonder men have
 “ been misled by this false principle. For when a custom, whose
 “ meaning lies not very obvious, requires some account to be given
 “ of it's original, it is much easier, to tell us, that this people derived
 “ it from that, than rightly to explain to us, what common prin-
 “ ciple of reason or superstition gave birth to it, in both. How
 “ many able Writers have employed their time and learning to
 “ prove *Christian Rome* to have borrowed their superstitions from
 “ the *Pagan City*? They have indeed shewn an exact and surpriz-
 “ ing likeness in a great variety of instances. But the conclusion
 “ from thence, that, therefore, the Catholic borrowed from the
 “ Heathen, as plausible, as it seems, is, I think, *utterly mistaken.*
 “ T

“To offer at present onely this plain reason, the rise of the
 “superstitious customs in question were many ages later than
 “the conversion of that Imperial City to the Christian faith: con-
 “sequently, at the time of their introduction, there were no *Pagan*
 “prejudices, that required such a compliance from the ruling
 “Clergy. For this, and other reasons, therefore, I am rather
 “induced to believe, that the very same spirit of superstition, op-
 “rating in equal circumstances, made both *Papists* and *Pagans*
 “truly originals, &c. [a]”

I am at a loss to conceive, what could move my learned friend, to pass so severe a censure upon an argument, which has hitherto been espoused by all Protestants; admitted by many Papists; and evaded, rather than contradicted, by any. But whatever was his motive, which, I persuade myself, was no unfriendly one, he will certainly pardon me, if pursuing the full conviction of my mind, I attempt to defend an established principle, confirmed by strong and numerous facts, against an opinion wholly new and strange to me; and which, if it can be supposed to have any force, overthrows the whole credit and use of my present work.

To proceed therefore to the consideration of his reasoning. He allows, that the writers, who have undertaken, *to deduce the rites of Popery from Paganism, have shewn an exact and surprizing likeness between them, in a great variety of instances.* This, one would think, is allowing every thing, that the cause demands: it is every thing, I dare say, that those writers desire. But this question, according to his notion, is not to be decided by facts, but by a principle of a different kind; *a superior knowledge of human nature*; which would teach us, that, notwithstanding all *that exact and surprizing likeness, the Papists are as truly originals as the Pagans; and borrowed nothing at all in reality from their Heathen Ancestors.*—He offers *one plain reason*, in the support of this

[a] Div. Legation. Vol. II. Par. i. p. 355.

assertion; “that the rise of the superstitious customs in question were many ages later, than the conversion of Rome to the Christian faith; and consequently, at the time of their first introduction, there were no Pagan prejudices, that required such a compliance from the ruling Clergy.” But this reason is so far from being a plain one, that, till it be more precisely stated, it will hardly pass for any reason at all. It consists, we see, of an *historical fact*; and of a *consequence* deduced from it: but till the *Æra* of that fact be settled, or the number of ages determined, by which the introduction of those ceremonies was later than the conversion of Rome, it is not possible for us to judge of the consequence, which he draws from it; or to know, whether there were any Pagan prejudices subsisting at that time or not; on which the whole force of his reason depends.

To set this argument therefore in it's proper light, let us take a summary view of the Christian religion in Rome, from the reign of Constantine the Great, the known æra of it's establishment in that Imperial City.

From this *Æra* then, according to the accounts of all writers, though Christianity became the public and established religion of the Government, yet it was forced to sustain a perpetual struggle for many ages, against the obstinate efforts of Paganism; which was openly espoused by some of the Emperors; publickly tolerated, and privately favored by others; and connived at in some degree by all.

Julian

Jovian
Valentinian
Valens

Within thirty years after Constantine, the Apostate Julian intirely restored it; abrogated all the laws which had been made against it; and prohibited the Christians to teach or propagate the Gospel [b]. The three Emperors, who next succeeded, Jovian, Valentinian, Valens; though they were Christians by profession, were yet

[b] Petunt etiam, ut illis privilegia deferant, qui loquendi & docendi nostris communem usum, Juliani lege proxima denegarunt.—Ambros. adv. Symmach. lib. i. i. ad Valentinianum.

wholly *indifferent and neutral between the two religions*; granting an equal indulgence and toleration to them both: and *Gratian*, the fourth, though a sincere believer, did not think fit to annul, *what Julian had restored* [c]. He was the first however, who refused the title and habit of the *Pontifex Maximus*; as giving a kind of sanction to the old Idolatry. But this affront provoked the *Pagan Priesthood* so highly, that one of them is recorded to have said, *since the Emperor refuses to be our Pontifex, we will very shortly take care, that the Pontifex shall be Maximus*; which they soon after made good, by the murder of *Gratian*, and the advancement of *Maximus* to the throne [d].

Gratian

Maximus

In the following reign of *Theodosius*, whose laws were generally severe upon the *Pagans*, *Symmachus*, the Governor of Rome, presented a petition or memorial, in the strongest terms, and in the name of the Senate and people of Rome, to *Valentinian the younger*, *Theodosius's* partner in the Empire; for leave, to replace the *Altar of Victory* in the Senate House, whence it had been removed by *Gratian*; and to restore their ancient privileges and revenues to the *Vestal virgins* [e]. This memorial was answered by *St. Ambrose*; who, in a Letter upon it to the Emperor, observes, *that when the petitioners had so many Temples and Altars open to them in all the streets of Rome, and particularly an Altar of Victory, where they might freely offer their Sacrifices, it seemed to be a mere insult on Christianity, to demand still one Altar more; and especially in the*

Theodosius

Valentinian

St. Ambrose.

[c] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who lived in that very age, gives this character of the Emperor *Valentinian*; *Postremo hoc moderamine principatus inclaruit; quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit; nec quenquam inquietavit; neque ut hoc coletur imperavit, aut illud. Nec interdictis minacibus subditorum cervicem ad id, quod ipse coluit, inclinabat; sed intemeratas reliquit has partes, ut reperiit.* lib. xxx. c. 9.

Symmachus, in his memorial to *Valentinian* the II^d. speaking with a reference to the five Emperors just named says; *numerentur Principes utriusque Sectæ, utriusque Sententiæ: proximus eorum caeremonias patrum coluit, recentior non removit.* *Symmach. Epist. l. x. 54.*

[d] Vid. *Jac. Geshoffel. De statu Paganor. sub Constant. Imperatore. Præf.*

[e] Vid. *Symmach. Epist. ibid.*

Senate House, where the greater part were then Christians [f]. Yet it appears from some hints in another letter, that this majority of Christians durst not venture to oppose the petition, but were content to withdraw themselves only, that they might not be said to have voted for it [g]. The petition was rejected by Valentinian, against the advice of all his Council; but was granted presently after by the Uurper Eugenius, who murdered and succeeded him.

Eugenius.

Theodosius.

Theodosius the II^d, pursuing the maxims of his Father, published a law, to punish all those, who were caught in the act of sacrificing to Idols, with banishment and confiscation of goods: and when this was not sufficient to restrain them, he made the punishment capital, and ordered their Temples to be demolished. Yet he prohibited the Christians at the same time by another law, from injuring either their persons or goods, on the account of their religion, as long as they behaved themselves quietly, and with due respect to the laws [h].

[f] Hujus aram strui in Urbis Romæ Curia petunt; hoc est, quo plures conveniunt Christiani. Omnibus in Templis aræ; ara etiam in templo Victoriarum; quoniam numero delectantur, Sacrificia sua ubique concelebrant. Quid est nisi insultare fidei, unius aræ sacrificium vendicare?—Non illis satis sunt Javacra, non porticus, non plateæ occupatæ simulacris.—Ambros. adv. Symmach. lib. ii. ad Valentin.

[g] Ibid. lib. i.

[h] Sed hoc Christianis, qui vel verè sint, vel esse dicuntur, specialiter demandamus, ut Judæis ac Paganis in quiete degentibus,—non audeant manus inferre religionis auctoritate abusi, &c.

Vid. Jac. Gothofred. de Statu Paganor. leg. xxiv. A. D. 423.

N. B. This law, which was published above a Century after the establishment of Christianity, is addressed, in very peculiar terms, to all Christians, whether real or nominal; whether they were truly so, or passed only for such.—Which shews us in the first place, from what source a great part of those pagan prejudices, that infected the discipline of the Church, would naturally arise; viz. from the numbers of the pretended converts, who were Pagans still in their hearts, and conformed onely through fear, or flattery to the reigning powers: and 2dly, that these false Christians used to cover their hypocrisy by the mask of an extraordinary zeal, and were the most forward to insult and persecute both the Jews and the Pagans.

During this period therefore, which includes a *full century* from *the conversion of Rome*, in which *the Christians and Pagans* lived promiscuously in every City of the Empire; enjoying, for the greatest part, not only the free exercise of their several religions, but an equal share of the honors and magistracies of the State, it is evident, as well from the nature of the thing, as from the facts above recited, that there were many *strong prejudices in favor of Paganism*, actually subsisting in all ranks of men; which an ambitious and temporizing Clergy would naturally apply to the advantage of their ease, their profit, or their power: so that, if any of the ceremonies in question were introduced into the Church within this period, their *Pagan origin* cannot be disputed, and Mr. Warburton, I am persuaded, according to his own reasoning, will allow *the mistake* to lie on his side.

Let us inquire then in the next place, what light the monuments of those times will afford concerning *the rise of these ceremonies*. But as it is of little moment to the public, to know the exact time of their introduction, so I will carry the reader no farther into this search, than will be necessary to convince him, that I have not been imposing upon him a *specious error*, or *fanciful hypothesis*; grounded on a false notion of human nature; but an historical relation of *the Paganism of modern Rome*; deduced from unquestionable facts, and the clear testimony of Antiquity: and this I shall be able to shew, as far as there will be occasion, from some of the hints already given in my Letter and my Preface.

Every one knows what a perpetual use there was of *Incense* and *sweet Odors*, in all the Temples of the Heathens. *Tertullian* speaks of it, as the distinguishing rite of *Paganism*; and declares, *that Idolatry might sooner be carried on without an Idol, than without Incense*: and for this reason, as he intimates, if *the Perfumers, who furnished this Incense to the Pagan Altars, continued to carry on that trade, after they had embraced the Christian faith, they were to be*
rejected

rejected from the Church [i]. This was the primitive discipline, before the conversion of *Rome*, when the Church was cautious of admitting into her worship, whatever had any relation to the old Idolatry: yet even in this period, *Gregory Thaumaturgus* is commended by his namesake of *Nissa*, for changing the Pagan Festivals into Christian Holydays, the better to draw the Heathens to the religion of Christ [k]. But after the establishment of Christianity, when the policy of complying with the popular prejudices began to prevail among the Clergy; and the Church, as *St. Jerom* says, declined as much in it's virtue, as it increased in it's power, we find not only the *Incense-sellers*, but the incense itself, and the *Thuribulum* taken into the service of the Christian Altars, and mentioned by *St. Ambrose* and *St. Chrysostom*, as of common use both in the Eastern and Western Empire [l].

Lustral Water.

The Pagans, as I have shewn, besides the constant use of *lustral water* in their Temples, used to sprinkle their horses with it in the *Circensian games*, to preserve them probably from the power of charms or incantations, that might be prepared against them by their adversaries. I have shewn likewise, how, in imitation of that custom, the practice of sprinkling horses and other animals with *Holy-water*, was first introduced among Christians, by the authority of *Hilarion, the Monk*; whose peculiar doctrine it was, that the Devil, out of his great hatred to men, and for the sake of doing them the greater mischief, used to enter even into their cattle, with

[i] Si & nunc etiam sine Idolo opus Idololatriæ incendiis odorum perpetratur—nam facilius sine Idolo, Idololatria, quam sine Turarii merce. Apologet. xi.

[k] Nissen. in vit. Greg. Thaummat.

[l] Atque utinam nobis adolescentibus Altaria, sacrificium deferentibus assistat Angelus, &c. Ambros. in Luc. i.

Diaconus. — λαβὼν τὸ θυμιατόν σου τὸ θυμιατ., &c. Chrysost. Liturgia. vid. Beverigh Annot. in Canon. Apost. iii.

Some learned men have asserted the use of Incense to be of Apostolic institution, from the authority of the Apostolic Canons: but the testimony of Tertullian, quoted above, clearly shews, that it was not introduced into the Christian worship in his days, and consequently, as other learned men have with more judgment inferred, that the Apostolic Canons were the production of a later age.

Apostolic

Canons.

intent

intent to destroy [m]. For when we see so singular a custom continued to this day at *Rome*, by the *Monks of St. Antony*, the Parent of Monckery itself, and the friend and contemporary of *Hilarion*; we cannot think it a *mistake*, to deduce it from an origin; which, from it's great success in that first trial, is said to have drawn many *Pagans to the faith of Christ* [n].

St. Jerom takes notice, that *Paganism had many observances, which, to the reproach even of Christians, implied a great strictness of manners and discipline*. *Juno*, says he, *had her Priestesses, devoted to one husband: Vesta her perpetual Virgins, and other Idols their Priests also, under vows of chastity* [o]. To wipe off this reproach therefore from the *Christian Church, Monasteries and Nunneries* began to be multiplied in this age, through all parts of the Christian world, recommended chiefly by the writings and authority of *St. Jerom* [p]. *Vigilantius*, who lived towards the end of the 4th Century, not long after the conversion of *Rome*, publicly charged the ruling Clergy with *Idolatry and Paganizing*, on the account of several *Heathenish customs*, introduced at that time into the Church; particularly, *the vows of chastity imposed upon the Clergy; the veneration of reliques; and the lighting up of candles to them, in broad day-light*. “We see, says he, in effect, a *Pagan* “*rite* introduced into our Churches, under the pretext of religion; “when heaps of *wax candles* are lighted up in clear sunshine, and “people every where kissing and adoring, I know not what, con- “temptible dust, preserved in a little vessel, and wrapped up in

Jerom.

Juno
Vesta

Monasteries, Nunneries.

Vigilantius.

[m] Docebat autem Senex, hominum causa, Diabolum etiam jumenta corripere, &c. Hieron. tom. iv. Par. ii. p. 82. edit. Bened.

[n] Indubitata ergo victoria et illis & multis retrò Circonsibus plurimis fidei occasio fuit. Ibid. p. 80.

[o] Quid nos oportet facere, in quorum condemnationem habet, & Juno Univiras, & Vesta Virgines, & alia Ido-

la continentes? Ibid. tom. iv. Par. i. 314. It. Par. ii. p. 154. & 744.

[p] Certe flos quidam & preciosissimus lapis inter Ecclesiastica ornamenta, Monachorum & Virginum chorus est. Hier. t. iv. Par. ii. p. 551.

Initum est inter Monachos consilium, nam in eodem loco circiter quinque millia diversis cellulis habitabant. Ib. p. 44.

“precious

"precious linen. These men do great honor truly to the blessed
 "Martyrs, by lighting up *paultry candles* to those, whom the
 "Lamb, in the midst of the throne, illuminates with all the lustre
 "of his majesty [q]." *St. Jerom*, who answers him, does not
 deny the practice, nor it's being *borrowed from the Pagans*, but
 defends it. *That*, says he, *was once done to Idols, and was then*
to be detested; but this is done to the Martyrs, and is therefore to be
received [r]. *Vigilantius* appears to have had several *Bishops* and
Presbyters on his side in this controversy, and particularly *Ruffinus*;
 yet the Church in general was so strongly infected at this time with
Pagan prejudices, that his remonstrances were treated with no
 better terms, than *heretical, impious, and diabolical* [s].

Upon the conversion of the Empire to the Christian faith, when
 the Church found itself supported by the laws, and invested with
 authority; it is natural to imagine, that one of the first acts of
 her power would be, to render all due honors to the memory of
 those *Martyrs*, by whose blood she had obtained it. This there-
 fore was the peculiar zeal, and reigning devotion of that age: in
 consequence of which it was a kind of fashion for the new Con-
 verts, who were of eminent birth and fortunes, to build Churches
 at their own expence, to the honor of the *Martyrs*, and for a
 repository of their bones: which, after the manner of the *Pagans*,
 they affected also to adorn with *paintings*; representing the stories
 of the Old and New Testament, and especially the acts of those
Martyrs, to whom the Churches were consecrated; in opposition
 to the fabulous acts of the *Old Heroes*, or pretended *Deities*, with
 which the *Heathen Temples* were usually painted.

Thus *Paulinus*, a Convert from Paganism, of Senatorial rank,
 celebrated for his parts and learning, and who died afterwards

[q] Hieron. ib. p. 282.

[r] Illud fiebat Idolis, & idcirco detestandum est: hoc fit Martyribus, & idcirco recipiendum est. Ibid. 284.

[s] Proh nefas! Episcopos sui sceleris dicitur habere consortes. Hieron. adv.

Vigil. p. 281. Oper. t. iv. Par. ii.

Bishop of Nola, rebuilt in a splendid manner his Episcopal Church, dedicated to *Felix the Martyr*; on whose portico's were painted the miracles of *Moses* and of *Christ*, together with the acts of *Felix*, and the other *Martyrs*, whose *reliques* were there deposited. He gives a short description of these paintings in one of his Poems; where, to obviate an objection, that might probably be made to this new and unusual method, as he calls it, of painting Churches, he says, "that it was done with a design, to draw the rude multitude, habituated to the profane rites of Paganism, to a knowledge and good opinion of the Christian doctrine; by learning from these pictures, what they were not capable of learning from books, the lives and acts of the Christian Saints [t]." Thus *Sulpicius* also, another noble Convert, and *Paulinus's* friend, built two *Basilica's*, or spacious Churches, with a *Baptistery* between them, in which was painted, on the one side, *St. Martin*, whose life also he wrote; and on the other, his living friend *Paulinus* [u].

[t] Forte requiratur quam ratione gerendi
Sederit hæc nobis sententia, pingere sanctas
Raro more domos, animantibus adsimulatis.
Accipite, & paucis tentabo exponere causas.
Quos agat huc Sancti Felicis gloria cœtus
Obscurum nulli; sed turba frequentior his est
Rusticitas non cassâ fide, neque docta legendi.
Hæc adueta diu sacris servire profanis
Ventre Deo, tandem convertitur advena Christo,
Dum sanctorum opera in Christo miratur aperta.
Cernite quam multi coeant ex omnibus agris, &c.

Vid. S. Paulini Oper. Nat. ix.

Pope Gregory, called the Great, about two centuries later, makes the same apology also for *Images* or *Pictures* in Churches; declaring them to have been introduced for the sake of the *Pagans*; that those, who did not know, and could not read the Scriptures, might learn from them what they ought to

worship. Unde & præcipue *Gentibus* pro lectione, pictum est, &c. Epist. l. ix. c. 9.

[u] Recte enim in loco refectionis humanæ *Martinus* pingitur, qui cœlestis hominis imaginem perfectâ Christi imitatione portavit; ut deponentibus in lavacro terrenæ imaginis vetustatem, imi-

Thus were *pictures* or *Images* introduced into the Christian Church, about the end of the 4th, or the beginning of the 5th Century, by the *Pagan Converts*; who seem to have vied with each other, in the magnificence of building, adorning, and painting the Churches of the several Martyrs [x]. Their design was, to do honor to the memory of those *Martyrs*; and to edify the people by the example of their lives; but above all, as *Paulinus*, one of the first Introducers of them, declares; "to draw the
 "Heathens the more easily to the faith of Christ, since by flock-
 "ing in crowds to gaze at the finery of these paintings, and by ex-
 "plaining to each other the stories there represented, they would
 "gradually acquire a reverence for that religion, which inspired
 "so much virtue and piety into it's professors." But these compliances, as *Bishop Stillingfleet* observes, were attended with very bad consequences; since *Christianity* became at last, by that means, to be nothing else but reformed Paganism, as to it's divine worship [y]: and as the learned *Mr. Turretin* also, describing the state of Christianity in this very age, says, "the Empire was brought
 "over to the faith, but the Church also infected with the pomp
 "of the Empire; the *Pagans* were converted to Christ, but the
 "worship of Christ also depraved to the fashion of *Paganism* [z]."

I need not trouble the reader with any more testimonies of this

tanda cœlestis animæ occurrat effigies. Nostræ vero quis illic locus est, &c. Vid. ib. Epist. ad Sever. xii.

[x] Tu vero etiam Baptisterium Basilicis duabus interpositum condidisti; ut nos in horum quoque operum, quæ visibiliter extruuntur, ædificatione superares. Sed Domino gratias, qui dedit nobis in quo & vinci victoriam ducere-mus. Vid. ibid.

[y] See *Bishop Stillingfleet's* Defence of the charge of Idolatry against the Ro-

manists, Vol. v. of his Works, p. 459. in which learned and excellent Treatise, the reader will find the whole question examined to the bottom, and demonstrably proved against the Church of Rome.

[z] Imperio ad fidem adducto, sed & Imperii pompa Ecclesiam inficiente: Ethnicis ad Christum conversis, sed & Christi religione ad Ethnicæ formam depravata, &c. Orat. Academ. De variis Christ. Rel. fatis.

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fort, which the writers of all times would abundantly furnish: the facts already produced sufficiently prove, that it is *no mistake* to affirm, that *the Catholic borrowed from the Heathen*; or that *Pagan ceremonies* were introduced into the Church, while there were *strong prejudices subsisting* in favor of them: which, from these beginnings, have been operating in it ever since, with more or less effect, in proportion to the decay of it's discipline, and the corruption of it's rulers, till they have perfected that form and System of worship, which we now distinguish by the name of *Popery*.

From this view then of the question, as it is now placed in it's true light, it appears impossible, in any sense whatsoever, that the *Papists could be originals*, in their use of those ceremonies. From the first promulgation of the Gospel, as all history informs us, there was a perpetual contest between *the Pagan and Christian rites*, through a long succession of ages; in which *the Pagan rites* were forcibly imposed upon the Christians, by the *Pagan Emperors*; rejected again in their turn by the *Christian Emperors*; and all of them distinctly marked out and described at different times by the *Imperial laws*, so as the Christians in all ages might clearly know and avoid them. For example; the laws of *Theodosius*, as I have already observed, forbade all people, under severe penalties, *to light up candles, burn incense, or hang up garlands to senseless images* [a]. Now these laws, from the time of

Papists not Originals.

[a] Nullus omnino—in nullo penitus loco, in nulla urbe, sensu carentibus simulacris — accendat lumina, imponat tura, ferta suspendat, &c. Vid. Jac. Gothofred. De Stat. Paganor. Leg. xii. p. 15.

Notwithstanding this prohibition of the ceremonies, here specified, to the *Pagans*, it is very remarkable, that they were actually in use in the *Christian Church*, at the same time, and under the same Emperor, as it appears by the

testimonies produced above. This was the effect of a political compliance with *the Pagan prejudices*, that the *Pagans*, when no longer allowed to perform their favorite rites to their Idols, might be induced the more easily to embrace the faith of Christ, by a liberty of performing them at the altars, and to the honor of the *Martyrs*; where there was no application of them however to *Idols or Images*, which, though they now began to be introduced into the Church, yet

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their publication, have been in the constant possession of the *Romish Church*; perpetually read, commented and published by their Clergy [b]; so that, when the particular rites, therein prohibited, were introduced into the Christian worship, in what age soever we should suppose it to have happened, the introducers could not be ignorant of their being *Pagan rites*; and consequently could not be *originals*, or inventors, but, as I have affirmed in my Letter, the *mere borrowers* of them from their *Pagan Ancestors*.

I will not pursue this point any farther, how much soever the occasion may invite me. I have no desire to enter into controversy with any man; much less with one, whose friendship I value, and whose uncommon abilities I shall always esteem. What I have thrown together hastily in this Postscript, will be considered, I hope, as a necessary act of defence; not due so much to myself, as to the judgement of the public, and the merit of an old argument, that has long been of service to the Protestant cause; and which, in all ages of the Church, if it had been attended to, as it ought, would have prevented the admission of those corruptions, which, at this day, so grossly deform the simplicity of the Christian worship, through the greatest part of the Christian world.

had no religious worship paid to them in this age. But after so large a concession, it was not easy to stop, till the whole pageantry of the old Idolatry was restored, as we now see it exercised in *Papish* countries, with all it's pomp of candles, incense, garlands, &c. applied again directly to the worship of *senseless Images*.

[b] *Paulinus*, the Bishop of *Nola*,

above mentioned, published a sort of *Panegyric* upon the Emperor *Theodosius*, containing a particular defence or apology for his laws: In relation to which, *St. Jerom*, in a letter to him, says, *Happy Theodosius, who has such an Orator of Christ for his Defender. You have illustrated his dignity, and consecrated the utility of his laws to future ages.* Hieron. ad Paul. Op. t. iv. p. 567. init.

A N
EXAMINATION

OF THE

Lord Bishop of LONDON'S DISCOURSES

CONCERNING

The Use and Intent of PROPHECY.

WITH

Some cursory Animadversions on his late APPENDIX, or
ADDITIONAL DISSERTATION,

CONTAINING

A farther Inquiry into the Mosaic Account of the FALL.

IN WHICH

These following Points are chiefly*explained and affirmed:

I. That the use of Prophecy, as it was taught and practised by Christ, His Apostles, and Evangelists, was drawn intirely from single and separate prædictions, gathered by them from the books of the Law and the Prophets, and applied, independently on each other, to the several acts and circumstances of the Life of Jesus, as so many distinct proofs of his Divine Mission. And consequently, that His Lordship's pretended chain of Antediluvian Prophecies, is nothing else but a fancifull conceit, which has no connection at all with the evidences of the Gospel.

II. That the Bishop's exposition of his

text is forced, unnatural, and inconsistent with the sense of St. *Peter*, from whose Epistle it is taken.

III. That the Historical Interpretation, which He gives to the Account of the Fall, is absurd and contradictory to reason: and that the said account cannot be considered, under any other character, than that of Allegory, Apologue, or Moral Fable.

IV. That the Oracles of the Heathen World, which His Lordship declares to have been given out by the Devil, in the form of a Serpent, were all impostures, wholly managed by human craft, without any supernatural aid, or interposition whatsoever.

A N
 EXAMINATION

OF THE

Lord Bishop of LONDON'S DISCOURSES

ON THE

Use and Intent of PROPHECY.

THE Reader perhaps may wonder, that these Discourses, which I am going to examine, concerning *the Use and Intent of Prophecy*, published so many years ago by Dr.

Sherlock, now Bishop of *London*, and since corrected and enlarged by him in several successive editions, should meet with a Censurer at last so hardy, as to call the merit of them into question. But the truth is, I had never read them till very lately; or otherwise these animadversions might have made their appearance probably much earlier. My omission however to read them did not flow from any contempt either of the subject, or of the Author's capacity to adorn it. I knew the subject to be important; and, for that reason, did not chuse to take my notion of it upon trust: I knew His Lordship also to be eminently qualified, to dress up any subject into any form, which would best serve his own views, and was jealous of warping my judgement by some bias, which his authority might be apt to imprint: for as far as my experience has reached, I have ever found authority a treacherous guide to

Sherlock.

a searcher after truth ; and theories in all Sciences, the chief obstacles of real knowledge.

In questions therefore, relating to the evidences of the Christian religion, instead of paying any regard to the confident assertions of angry disputants, who generally come determined to support the particular systems, which are embraced by their own party : it has been my custom, to recur directly to the Scriptures, as the common source of all religious opinions to Christians, and the sole standard, by which the truth of them can be tried. Thus when the Nature of Prophecy, considered as an evidence of the Gospel, was made the subject of a controversy, which gave birth to these same Discourses, I endeavoured to inform myself, what sort of character was given to it in the New Testament, and what use was actually made of it by Christ himself and his Apostles, towards illustrating the divinity of his mission : and having settled in my mind a notion of it, agreeable to the testimonies of the sacred writers, I thought it an idle curiosity and waste of time, to inquire, what any modern Divine had preached or written about it ; because the whole, that can be known authentically concerning it's relation to Christianity, must be learnt from those, who first planted Christianity, and were instructed by the Author of it, on what foundation it rested, and how far the argument of Prophecy was usefull to it's propagation and support.

These Discourses therefore might have passed still unregarded by me, if they had not been accidentally recommended to my perusal, by a late conversation, in which they were urged in contradiction to something advanced on the subject of Prophecy, which I took to be both reasonable and important. This gave me an inclination to review the whole question, for the sake either of confirming or correcting my own notion of it ; and to take these Discourses at the same time into consideration ; especially, as it would free me from the reproach of slighting that information, which I might possibly receive from them. Upon this task I

soon after entered, and found this capital work of his Lordship to be just such as I expected; exhibiting a species of reasoning peculiar to himself, ever subtil and refined, yet never convincing; and proper rather to perplex, than to illustrate the notion of Prophecy; and to amuse rather, than instruct an inquisitive reader. I found much art and pains employed, to dress up an imaginary scheme, of which I had not discovered the least trace in any of the four Gospels; and in which, as far as I was able to judge, he seemed to have rejected the whole evidence of Prophecy, as it was understood and applied by the Apostles and Evangelists; and to have substituted in it's place a romantic system, or fancifull chain of antediluvian prædictions, as the sole ground, on which any solid argument of the prophetick kind could be urged in favor of Christianity.

This, though it must needs appear strange in Discourses delivered from the pulpit, He prepares us to expect, by a short Preface, in which He says----“ They who consider the Prophecies under the Old Testament, as so many prædictions onely, independent on each other, can never form a right judgement, of the argument for the truth of Christianity, drawn from this topick, nor be able to satisfy themselves, when they are confronted with the objections of unbelievers. It is an easy matter, for men of leisure and tolerable parts, to find difficulties in particular prædictions, and in the application of them made by writers, who lived many hundred years ago, and who had many antient books and records of the Jewish Church, from which they drew many passages, and perhaps some Prophecies, which books and records we have not, to inable us to understand and to justify their applications, &c. [a].”

[a] These words are transcribed from a Preface, prefixed to the third Edition of the Discourses, which was the onely one, that I made use of, or had then

seen. I have since learnt, that there are two later Editions, in which the Preface is omitted, though without any observable alteration in the Discourses

What the Bishop here declares, relates, as he afterwards signifies, to the case of a certain Freethinking Author, who had ri-

themselves, or any reason given for that omission; which must needs afford matter of speculation to the reader. The purpose of the Preface was, to give the reader a proper notion of the subject of the Discourses, and of his manner of treating it. If it was withdrawn therefore, on the account of any change of sentiments with regard to it, we might have expected from him some little éclaircissement on that head, especially since the Discourses, to which it related, continue still unchanged. Or if, after three successive Editions, the Preface was dropped, as being judged at last too slight and trivial for a performance of such importance; that, though it would have been a good reason for not giving it at the first, is but a paultry one for recalling it, when once given. We love to retain every scrap of a celebrated writer, in its natural and original form, and, after twenty years possession, think it an injury to be deprived of it. As His Lordship however had some motive undoubtedly, for taking a step so unusual, so the reader will naturally be guessing, what it might probably be; and many will be apt to think that the passage, which I have cited from it, carries in it so direct a condemnation of that use of single and separate Prophecies, which was made by the Evangelists, that it was omitted for that very reason, as tending to raise scruples in people's minds, to the disadvantage of His Lordship's

scheme. But this offence, though now removed, as far as it was given by the Preface, remains still in its full force in the body of the Discourses. The obvious tendency of which, as every one must see, is, to represent the weakness of all that prophetic evidence, which the Evangelists have applied, to evince the truth of the Gospel.

In the conclusion of the same Preface, His Lordship expresses some diffidence, concerning the truth or solidity of an hypothesis, which he labors to inculcate through his whole fourth Discourse; viz. "That the curse denounced by God against the earth, for the transgression of our first Parents, was completed and finally ceased at the Deluge, when its original fertility was restored to it, by an express covenant with *Noah*, according to a Prophecy of his Father *Lamech*." [*Gen. v. 28.*] Now though nothing can be more weak and irrational than this hypothesis, yet when the Author proposes it with modesty, as a conjecture, or hasty thought, not duly considered by him, our disgust of course is softened, and the severity of our criticism checked: but as the case now stands, when we see a most ridiculous conceit enforced with the greatest zeal and seriousness in an Episcopal Sermon, and find the sole excuse, which could he made, and which had been made for it, deliberately suppressed, we are provoked of course to treat it with all that contempt, which

diculed

diculed the Prophecies of the Old Testament, which are cited in the New, as trifling and impertinent, and bearing no sort of relation to the particular cases or persons, to which they are applied: yet, in this attempt, that Author has not considered those Prophecies in any other method, nor under any other character, than that, in which they were considered by the Evangelists themselves, who applied them, *singly and independently on each other*, to this or that occasion, as so many different arguments for the general truth of the Gospel; so that by condemning his manner of considering them, His Lordship condemns that of the Evangelists at the same time: but since the use, which was made of Prophecy in the New Testament, is the sole rule, by which we can form a just notion of it, or determine the propriety either of His Lordship's scheme, or of these Animadversions upon it, it will be necessary in the first place, to draw out a distinct account, of what those sacred Writers have delivered concerning it.

Who was this Greatthinker?

It is affirmed then by the testimonies of all the Evangelists, how *Jesus* himself constantly taught, that his person and character were particularly foretold and marked out *by Moses and all the later Prophets*, as the *Messiah*, or that great Prophet, who was to come: and that he came accordingly, as it had been foretold to them, *not to destroy the law and the Prophets, but to fulfill*

Jesus.

it justly deserves.

But to say the truth, I have never observed a stronger instance of the public patience and blind deference to the authority of a Great name, than in the case of these very Discourses; which, though in all parts greatly exceptionable, and furnishing matter of offence in every page, have yet passed through many Editions, not onely without reproof, but with some degree even of approbation. And it was this experi-

ence perhaps of what the world would bear, which made His Lordship resolve to withdraw his Preface, and to treat us no longer with any ceremony; having seen, that notwithstanding the consciousness, which he had declared, of being in the wrong, the public was still disposed to think him in the right, and that his nonsense would go down with them, without giving him the trouble of making an excuse for it.

them [b]. Thus in an expostulation with the Jews, for their obstinate rejection of him, He exhorts them *to search the Scriptures* for the proofs of his character and mission, for *in them*, says he, *ye think that ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me.* To which he immediately subjoins, *there is one, that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom you trust.* For had ye believed *Moses*, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me [c]. When he was risen also from the dead, and appeared to the two Disciples going to *Emmaus*, who still doubted of his resurrection, though it had been reported to them by the women; “He said unto them; O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken: ought not Christ to have suffered, and to enter into his glory? And, *beginning at Moses and all the Prophets*, he expounded unto them, in all the Scriptures, the things “concerning himself [d].”

Here then we see our Lord grounding the authority of his mission on the evidence of Prophecy; and declaring that *Moses and the Prophets* had written and testified of him, in a manner so express, that those, who believed *Moses*, must of course, if they were consistent, believe also in him. In proof of which, he appeals to the Scriptures; exhorts the Jews to search them; and puts the trial of his veracity, on the issue of that search: and this, we may imagine, was the subject of all his discourses, as oft as he went into the Synagogues, according to his constant custom, in every place whither he came. The Evangelists however, though they all agree in affirming this, to have been his general way of arguing with the Jews, yet have recorded but a few of those particular Prophecies, which were alledged by him on such occasions, as prefigurative of his character and mission.

For instance; at *Nazareth*, the place of his education and ordinary residence, he applied to himself a Prophecy of *Isaiab*, in

[b] Matt. v. 17.

[c] John v. 39.—45.

[d] Luke xxiv. 25.

which the principal characters, ascribed by the Jews to the Messiah, are particularly enumerated: "For upon his entrance into the Synagogue on the Sabbath, the book of the prophet *Isaiah* being put into his hands, he opened it, and found the place, where it was written; The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the Captives, and recovering of sight to the blind; and to set at liberty them, that are bruised; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord---He then closed the book, and gave it again to the Minister, and sat down; and, all the eyes of the Synagogue being fastened upon him, he began to say unto them, *This Day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears.*" On which he preached to them in such an affecting manner, "that they all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words, which proceeded out of his mouth [e]." In another place also, speaking to the multitude concerning the character of *John the Baptist*, he affirms him to be the forerunner, sent by God to dispose the world for the reception of his Gospel, telling them, *This is he, of whom it is written, Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee* [f]. In one of his Sermons also to the unbelieving Jews, He declares himself, to be denoted by *that corner-stone*, of which the Psalmist prophetically says, *The stone, which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner* [g]. On another occasion, where he was foretelling to his Disciples the treachery of *Judas*, he signifies it, to have been permitted, *that the Scripture might be fulfilled, where it is said, He that eateth bread with me, lifteth up his heel against me* [h]. And when he was intimating to them the approach of his death and the manner of it, he applies the words of *Isaiah*, as then ready to be fulfilled in him, saying; *that this, which is written, must yet be accomplished in me: And he was reckoned among*

[e] Luke iv. 16.

[f] Matt. xi. 10. Luke vii. 27.

[g] Luke xx. 17.

[h] John xiii. 1. 8.

the transgressors; for the things concerning me have an end [i]. There are two or three instances more, where he affirms the words of *Isaiah*, and of the *Psalmist*, to be fulfilled, by the infidelity of the Jews, who would not receive him upon the testimony of their own Prophets. *In them*, says he, *is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaías, which saith; By bearing ye shall hear and shall not understand, and seeing ye shall see and shall not perceive [k].* Again; when he was betrayed by *Judas* into the hands of those who came to seize him, *Peter* having drawn his sword, and wounded one of the company, *Jesus* reproved him, by saying; "Put up thy sword---thinkest thou, that I cannot now pray to "my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve "legions of Angels? but how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?" to which he presently adds, "But all this was done, that the Scriptures of the Prophets might "be fulfilled [l]," plainly signifying, that there was not any circumstance of his life, which had not been foretold in such a manner, that the accomplishment of it, by its conformity with the prediction, might answer the purpose intended by God of demonstrating the Divinity of his character.

Lastly; after his resurrection, having spent forty days still on earth, in confirming and instructing his Apostles, in things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, and being just ready to ascend into heaven, and now giving them his last instructions, "He said "unto them; These are the words, which I spake unto you, "while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, "which were written in the Law of *Moses*, and in the *Prophets*, "and in the *Psalms* concerning me. Then opened he their understandings, that they might understand the Scriptures; and said "unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to "suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name

[i] Luke xxii. 37.

[k] Matt. xiii. 14.

[l] Matt. xxvi. 26.

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“ among all nations, beginning at *Jerusalem*: and ye are witnesses of these things [*m*].”

These instances of the use of Prophecy, as it was applied by *Jesus* himself, sufficiently shew, that the antient Prophecies were considered by him singly and independently, as so many distinct arguments, for the truth of his mission; and consequently, that those, who consider them in the same light, may, in contradiction to what his Lordship asserts, form a right judgement of this argument, and make a right use of it in favor of Christianity, notwithstanding all the objections, with which it may be confronted by Unbelievers.

But if any doubt remain still on this point, it will be abundantly cleared up by the practice of the Apostles and Evangelists, and by the use which they made of Prophecy, after they had been fully instructed and enlightened upon it, as well by the example, as the repeated lessons of their Master to the last moment of his continuance on earth. The Evangelists wrote their several Gospels for the sake of transmitting to all posterity the genuine evidences, on which the authority of the Christian doctrine was founded; among these, the argument drawn from Prophecy appears to have been applied by them, as the most effectual and convincing to the Jews, to whom alone the Gospel was preached by Christ himself, and in the first place afterwards by his Apostles; and of whom the first Christian Church was entirely composed. But their notion of Prophecy, considered as a proof of the Gospel was not drawn from any scheme of it, deduced from Adam, and the Antediluvian World; nor do they refer us, for the evidences of our faith, to I know not what *Prophecies of Enoch*, or *Noah*, but to *Moses and the Prophets*, whose writings were in every body's hands, and of an authority allowed and indisputable.

[*m*] Luke xxiv. 44.

After

“ silver ; the parting of his garments, and casting lots for them ;
 “ his crucifixion ; with the particular circumstances accompany-
 “ ing it ; the Thieves who suffered with him ; the vinegar given
 “ him to drink ; the wound made in his side ; the omission of
 “ breaking his bones ; his resurrection and ascension, are all af-
 “ firmed to have been so ordered and so transacted, by the special
 “ counsel of God, *that the Scriptures of the Prophets might be ful-
 “ filled by them* [o].

All the other Evangelists pursue the same method, of applying the ancient Prophecies singly, and independently on each other, as so many arguments for the divine authority of the Gospel : and it must surely be allowed, that any single Prophecy, delivered for that purpose, and literally fulfilled, is a strong proof of it, though we had reason even to neglect the rest, as uncertain and precarious. But according to the assertion of this eminent Prelate, the argument drawn from Prophecies, considered singly and independently (as they were in fact considered by the Evangelists) can neither satisfy any body, nor bear to be confronted with the objections of unbelievers : and on this principle his six Discourses are manifestly grounded. For when that Free-thinking Author undertook to shew, that the prophetic testimonies, which are applied by the Evangelists, to evince the truth of the Gospel, are in reality no proofs at all, he plainly gives up those testimonies, as incapable of being justified ; and amuses us with Prophecies, as old as the world itself ; deduced from our first parent *Adam* ; affirming this to be the onely notion of Prophecy, which can supply any satisfactory argument for the truth of Christianity.

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He adds indeed one good reason, for his preference of this comprehensive scheme, in a controversy with unbelievers, to that narrow way, which the Evangelists chose, of appealing to single predictions, “ because it is an easy matter, he says, for men of leisure

[o] Matt. i. 23. ii. 5, 15, 23. iv. 14, &c.

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“and tolerable parts, to find difficulties in particular predictions, “and in the application of them—but not so easy, to shew, that “a chain of Prophecies, reaching through several thousand years, “delivered at different times, yet manifestly subservient to one “and the same end, is the effect of art and contrivance.” By this way then of considering Prophecy, he has put the labouring oar upon his adversary, which in the other way of considering it, must have been thrown upon himself: but whatever ease it may give to his Lordship in this particular dispute, to consider prophecy in so extensive a view, yet, with regard to the service of Christianity, I cannot see the least difference or advantage in his scheme; except in the greater length of his prophetic chain, than of that, which the Evangelists made use of: for the Prophecies, as they are applied singly in the Gospels, are all of them subservient to one and the same purpose of Providence, as well as in his hypothesis; but the Evangelical chain, which begins with *Moses*, reaches onely through several hundred years; whereas his chain, which begins with *Adam*, reaches through several thousand. Yet this extension of it into the antediluvian ages can serve no other end, but to envelope a plain question of fact in clouds and mystery; which may afford more ground indeed for a fanciful genius, to build it's airy castles upon, but none at all on which we can raise any solid or satisfactory argument.

But whatever view his Lordship had, in recurring to this expedient, it is certain, that there was no occasion to desert that foundation, which the Evangelists had laid, and to take refuge in a precarious System, calculated rather to create scruples, than to cure them. For should we allow, what He Himself plainly intimates, that the particular Prophecies, as they are applied by the Evangelists in their several Gospels, are clogged with very great difficulties by that Freethinking Author, there is a solution of them, obvious and natural, supplied by the case itself, which, though not agreeable perhaps to the principles of systematic or political Divines, cannot possibly hurt the authority of the Gospel, because

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because it is grounded on facts, expressly delivered by the Gospel. But this perhaps I may take occasion to explaine hereafter in a particular treatise, and shall now procede to lay my present remarks before the reader, in the same order, in which His Lordship's arguments, to which they severally relate, are ranged by him in his Discourses.

The Text, which he has chosen for the common subject, and foundation of all these Discourses, is;

2 Epist. of Pet. c. i. 19.

We have also a more sure word of Prophecy, whereunto ye do dwell, that ye take heed, as unto a light, that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.

The first observation, which His Lordship makes upon this text, is, "that a comparison is evidently formed in it, between *the word of Prophecy*, and some other thing before mentioned: and in order to shew, what the thing is, with which Prophecy is here compared, he refers us to the three verses, which immediately precede ;"

Ver. 16. For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his Majesty.

Ver. 17. For He received from God the Father honor and glory, when there came such a voice to Him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.

Ver. 18. And this voice, which came from Heaven, we heard, when we were with him in the holy Mount.

Ver. 19. We have also, &c.

From this whole passage, "we may see, says he, on what foundation the inference of those writers stands, who assert,

“ that the evidence, which Christians have from Prophecy, for
 “ the certainty of their hopes, is greater and surer, than the evi-
 “ dence, which they have from the preaching of the Apostles,
 “ who were eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses of what they report,
 “ concerning the majesty of Christ : or in the words of a late
 “ Author, that Prophecy is a stronger argument than a miracle,
 “ which depends upon external evidence and testimony [o].”

Now the confutation of this inference, as it was deduced by
 that Author from this text, being the Subject of the Bishop's two
 first Discourses, it will be necessary, to give the reader a distinct
 notion of the point in controversy between them, that he may
 form the clearer judgement of his Lordship's reasoning upon it :
 for which purpose, I shall draw out that Author's opinion, as it is
 stated in his own words, of which, for certain reasons, this learn-
 ed Prelate has given us onely a small part ; and shall confront it
 with the Bishop's sense of the text, as it is explained also by
 himself.

*The Freethinker,
 Collins*

That Author then, in the passage of his book, to which we
 are referred, having shewn, how *Jesus* and his Apostles grounded
 Christianity on proofs, drawn from the Prophecies of the Old
 Testament and applied by them in the New, immediately adds ;
 “ And it is strongly and invincibly established on those foundations :
 “ because a proof drawn from an inspired book is perfectly con-
 “ clusive ; and Prophecies delivered in an inspired book are, when
 “ fulfilled, such as may be justly deemed sure and demonstrative
 “ proofs, and which *Peter* prefers, as an argument, to the mira-
 “ culous attestation, whereof he himself, and two other Apostles
 “ were witnesses, given by God himself to the mission of *Jesus*
 “ Christ. His argument seems as follows ; laying this founda-
 “ tion, that Prophecy proceeds from the Holy Ghost, it is a stronger
 “ argument than a miracle, which depends upon external evidence
 “ and testimony [p].”

[o] Page 2, 3.

Collins

[p] See the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion, p. 27.

As far as these words go, there is certainly nothing in them, but what a sincere advocate of the Gospel might freely allow and join issue upon; but they came from an enemy, who had a crafty view in extolling the credit of Prophecy, in order to depress it afterwards the more effectually: and this was the ground of his Lordship's resolution to confute, or, at all events, to contradict them: which last part he has performed with great spirit, but how far he has succeeded in the first, will be seen in the following remarks.

In the mean while, his Lordship's exposition of the text is this; "that the word of Prophecy is compared indeed and preferred " here by St. *Peter* to the evidence of that heavenly voice, which " he himself had heard in the Mount, yet not, as that Freethinking Author imagines, on the account of its being a surer proof, " or better argument for the general truth of the Gospel, but onely " for the particular article of *Christ's coming again in glory*, to " which case alone the comparison relates; for with regard to the " truth of the Gospel, *Peter* is so far from speaking of Prophecy " in this place, as the best evidence, that he manifestly speaks of " it as not the best [q]."

*Thou thinkst again. Who?
Collins.*

Having set forth these two opposite interpretations of the text, I shall procede to examine the several arguments by which the Bishop attempts, in the first place, to confute his adversary's sense, and in the second, to establish his own.

He begins by an appeal to authority, and declares, *that the Author's exposition is rejected, as far as he sees, by all Interpreters [r].* This indeed is surprizing; for in the very passage to which he refers us, his Adversary has cited two Interpreters, as agreeing with him directly in the same exposition, Mr. *Whiston* and Dr. *Whitby*: the last of whom expressly says, " the word of

Whiston. Whitby.

[q] See Disc. p. 18, 19, 20, &c.

[r] lb. p. 3.

" Prophecy

Prophecy more
sure than Miracle.

Austin

Castalis

Grotius

St Peter.

“ Prophecy is called by St. Peter more sure, than the testimony
 “ of what he had heard in the Mount : which was not so certain
 “ and convincing to the Jews, as the Record of their own Pro-
 “ phets : whence the Apostles, both in disputing with unbeliev-
 “ ing Jews, and writing to the believers, among them, confirm
 “ their doctrines from the writings of the Old Testament [s].”
 In the collection also of the sacred Critics, he might have seen St.
 Austin, as he is cited by Erasmus, interpreting this text in the
 same manner ; *that the word of Prophecy is called by St. Peter*
more sure, not more true, than the miraculous attestation in the
Mount ; because cavillers might ascribe a voice delivered from hea-
ven to Magical arts, which they could not do, in the case of Prophe-
cy [t]. Castalis also interprets these words, *more sure*, as they are
 applied here to Prophecy, to signify ; *more effectual to persuade*
and draw men to Christ. And Grotius paraphrases the same words,
 as if the Apostle had said, *The word of Prophecy had always great*
Authority with us, but now a much greater, after we have seen the
events correspond so aptly with the predictions, concerning the Mes-
siah [u]. An able Advocate also of our Church in the Popish
 controversy, touching upon this very question, observes, that our
 Saviour appeals more to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, for
 the truth of his mission, than to his miracles ; and that it is the
 testimony of the Scriptures, into which the testimony of his mira-
 cles must be resolved. And this he confirms by the authority of
 the text now before us, in which St. Peter prefers the testimony
 of the Scriptures to that miraculous attestation given to Jesus in the
 Mount, of which he himself was a witness—“ The Old Testa-
 “ ment, says he, is here called *a word of Prophecy*, because the
 “ great business of those books was, to prepare mankind for the
 “ reception of Christ by all sorts of predictions. And now that
 “ Christ was come, if there remained any darkness or doubting
 “ in their minds, who had seen and known other testimonies
 “ given to Jesus, they were to take heed to the word of Prophecy,

[s] See his Comment on the Text.

[u] Ibid.

[t] Vid. Crit. Sacr. in loc.

“ and diligently observe the correspondence of the event with the prediction of all things foretold concerning Christ; in doing which, their doubts would by degrees vanish, and at last they would grow to a clear and strong persuasion. St. *Peter* therefore calls *the word of Prophecy, a more sure word*, because it is the best means to make us sure [w].”

Now all these Expositors, with many more, whom I might easily collect, manifestly confirm this interpretation of the text, which the Bishop is laboring to confute, and take the word of Prophecy to be proposed here by St. *Peter*, as a surer argument for *the Messiahship of Christ*, than the miraculous attestation of it in the Mount. And some of the rest, while they prefer a different sense, yet mention this still as a probable one, which none of them expressly condemn, though his Lordship affirms it to be rejected, *as far as he sees*, by them all: where, though no body perhaps will call in question the sharpness of his sight, yet from this instance, as well as many others, which I might collect, one would be apt to suspect, that his Lordship never chuses to see more of any subject, than what may serve that particular hypothesis, which he comes prepared to support.

He next declares his Adversary's exposition, *to be contradictory not only to the sense of mankind, but inconsistent also with itself and many places of Scripture* [x]. Where, though we might expect to have been informed, whence it is, that he has collected the sense of mankind on this subject, he has not favored us with the least proof or example of it in any age or country whatsoever. He forgot surely, that he was now discoursing from the Press, and not from the Pulpit: for though *Ipse dixit* may carry authority

[w] See a Pamphlet in the Popish controversy printed 1687; in Quarto, called, *The School of the Eucharist, published upon the miraculous respect, &c.* supposed to be written by Dr. Cradock. Pref. p. 13, 14.
[x] Disc. p. 3, 4.

with them, where no body can contradict, yet they will never pass for arguments, where speech and debate are free.

He proceeds however to prove the Author's exposition to be inconsistent with itself, and says, "let any man consider, and he will find, that the greatest proof, which a Prophet can give for the authority of his mission is the power of working miracles, and how then can the evidence of Prophecy rise higher than the evidence of miracles, on which it ultimately depends for all it's own authority [y]?" This he illustrates by two examples from Scripture: "first of *Gideon*, who being commanded by an Angel, in the name of God, to go and save *Israel* from the hand of the *Midianites*, with an assurance of success, would not believe the Prophecy, though delivered by an Angel, till he had received two or three Miracles in confirmation of it [z]." Here he presently asks with an air of triumph; "What think you now? the Prophecy of the Angel, was as much a Prophecy before, as after the Miracle: but was it a *more sure word* before, than after? if so, why was a sign desired? why granted? Does God work miracles to humour men in their folly, or to confirm their faith? If to confirm our faith, then our faith in the Prophecies depends on the authority of Miracles, since the stream can never rise above the spring head [a]."

Gideon

*Prophecies depend
on Miracles.*

Moses.

He next takes an *higher instance*, of *Moses*, "the greatest Prophet of the law, to whom God spake face to face, and whom he commissioned to deliver the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*; which was sufficient to make him a Prophet. But what says *Moses*? Behold they will not believe me, nor hearken to my voice, for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee." And here again he asks, "Was this a foolish complaint in *Moses*? if it was, how came God to listen to it, and give him a power to work Miracles in confirmation of his Prophecy? Does

[y] Disc. p. 4.

[z] Ib.

[a] Ib. p. 5.

"not

“ not this shew, that miracles are the Prophet's greatest authority
“ and confirmation [b] ?

*Miracles the Prophets greatest
Authority.*

But to pass over these fallies of his eloquence, and examine the force of his reasoning. *Every considering man*, he says, *will find the authority of prophecy, to depend ultimately on the authority of miracles* : but let a man consider, as long as he pleases, he will never find it from these instances, to which he refers us. *Gideon and Moses*, astonished by a wonderful apparition and prophetic message from heaven, and under that astonishment suspecting that what they saw and heard might be nothing else but an illusion, and the effect of a surprized and disturbed imagination, demanded a more deliberate and familiar proof of it's reality : all which is utterly foreign to the point in question ; and of no force at all towards determining the proper evidence of Prophecy. Nay, should we grant them even the whole, which he infers from it, that a Prophecy delivered by an authority pretending to be divine cannot find credit, unless it be confirmed by miracles, yet this is nothing to his purpose, nor will add the least advantage to his side of the argument.

All who maintain the superior evidence of Prophecy, mean it onely of Prophecy, actually fulfilled, and carrying with it the demonstration of it's truth, in the correspondency of the event with the prediction ; it is in this sense alone, in which the Author whom he is confuting, expressly speaks of it : his words are ; *Prophecies, delivered in an inspired book, when fulfilled, may justly be deemed sure and demonstrative proofs, and a stronger argument than a miracle*. It is this alone, which the nature of the subject required him to confute, and what he had undertaken to confute ; but instead of this, he changes the question upon us, and when we were expecting reasons, why Prophecy fulfilled could not be so strong a proof as a miracle, all that he attempts to shew is, that

[b] Ib. 5, 6.

Prophecy not yet fulfilled nor even believed, wants the help of a miracle, to give it credit. Which, as it is here applied to the confutation of that Author, is wholly fallacious and sophistical, without either force or sense in it.

The same sort of fallacy seems to run through all his Discourses; in which he treats Prophecy in a loose and indeterminate sense, and speaks of it indifferently, as carrying the same evidence with it, whether it be fulfilled or not fulfilled. Whereas a bare Prophecy delivered as the proof of a divine character in any person or doctrine, is incapable of any persuasive force, or of giving any sort of conviction, untill it be accomplished; the completion of it being the sole test, by which it's veracity can be determined. The event likewise, foretold by it, must be of a kind, which neither human prudence could foresee, nor human power produce; for otherwise it could not give any assurance of a divine interposition; since it might have been brought about by natural means, and foreseen perhaps, or luckily guessed by men of superior penetration. Thus the Oracles of the Heathen world were supported by the managers of them: who being expert in all the arts of a crafty and conjectural sagacity, gave out such answers, as they thought the most probable, and trusted the accomplishment of them to the fortuitous concurrence of natural causes; which, in an infinite variety of predictions, could not fail of happening to some: whence it became a proverbial saying among the *Greeks*, that *He was the best prophet, who could make the best guess* [c].

It is certain however, that a Prophecy literally fulfilled, is of itself, without external aid, as clear a proof of it's own divinity, as any miracle can be: though while the event is still in futurity, the authority of the Prophet may reasonably be called in question;

[c] Est quidem Graecis vulgaris in hanc sententiam versus, Bene qui conjiciet, Vatem hunc perhibeto optimum.

Cic. de Divin. ii. 5.

Μάχις γ' ἄελλας, ὅστις εἰσάξει καλῶς.

Greek proverb.

unless

unless he can shew some present sign, or divine credential of his mission; which seems to have been always expected from the Jewish Prophets, and always performed by them. Yet miracles were not the usual sign of the prophetic character, but generally reserved to seal the mission of those, who were sent to introduce a new way of worship, and were not granted therefore, as the learned observe, or in no large measure at least, to any other, than to *Moses*, the deliverer of the law; to *Elijah* and *Elisha* the restorers; and above all to *Jesus*, the Fulfiller of it; and to his Disciples afterwards, the preachers of his Gospel [*d*].

*Moses, Elijah, Elisha
Jesus.*

Among all the other Prophets, the common and ordinary sign of their divine authority was, *the apparent accomplishment of every word, which they spake in the name of the Lord*; as it was appointed by God himself; and is thus related by *Moses*:

“The Prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other Gods, even that Prophet shall die.—And if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word, which the Lord hath not spoken?—when a Prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing, which the Lord hath not spoken, but the Prophet hath spoken it presumptuously [*e*].” We find however, several great events and revolutions foretold by all the Prophets, the truth of which could not possibly be known to the generation then living, because they were not to take place till after a succession of many ages: but the same Prophets, as we read of some, and may suppose therefore of all, had given in the mean while the usual proofs of their mission, by many other predictions which were fulfilled perhaps immediately, or within a few days, or months; or else by declaring the secret thoughts of men; or things transacted in distant places, and with

[*d*] See Spencer on Vulgar Prophecies, c. iv. p. 60.

[*e*] Deut. xviii. 20, &c.

such circumstances, as no human wisdom could possibly penetrate.

Samuel

Thus it is said of *Samuel*, that all Israel knew him to be an established Prophet of the Lord, because none of his words fell to the ground [f]. And *Saul*, as we read, went to consult him, how he might find his Father's Asses, because he was an honourable man, and all that he said came surely to pass [g]. It is written also of *Elisha*, that he had often given warning to the King of Israel, of the secret counsels, which his enemy, the King of Syria, had projected against him: and that he could tell whatsoever that Syrian King had spoken in his bed-chamber [h]. Agreeably to all

Jeremiah

which, *Jeremiah*, reproving the false Prophet, *Hananiah*, who was deluding the people by predictions of peace and restoration from *Babylon*, said to him; "Hear now this word, which I speak in thine ears, and the ears of all the people. The Prophets, that have been before me, and before thee of old, prophesied both against many countries, and great Kingdoms, of war, and of evil, and of pestilence. The Prophet, which prophesieth peace, when the word of the Prophet shall come to pass, then shall the Prophet be known, that the Lord hath truly sent him."---And when *Hananiah* persisted still, to alledge the name of God for the truth of what he spake, *Jeremiah* again said to him, "Hear now, *Hananiah*, the Lord hath not sent thee, but thou makest the people to trust in a lie. Therefore thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will cast thee off from the face of the earth; this year thou shalt die: because thou hast taught rebellion against the Lord. So *Hananiah* the Prophet died the same year, in the seventh month [i]." And as this was the established credential of the prophetic character under the Old Testament, so our Savior applied it to the same purpose in the New, as the sure testimony of his divine mission. For after he had foretold to his disciples, that *Judas* would betray him, he

Hananiah

[f] 1 Sam. iii. 10, 20.

[g] 1b. six. 6.

[h] 2 Kings vi. 8, 12.

[i] Jerem. xxviii. 7, 16, 17.

presently adds, *now I tell you this, before it come, that when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am He* [k]. And on other occasions also, when he was informing his disciples of his approaching departure from them, and ascent to the Father, and of the persecutions, which they would suffer after he was gone, he adds the same words, and admonishes them again, in the same manner, *that, when the time should come, they might remember, that he had told them so, and believe in him* [l]. Hence we see, that the established and ordinary sign, by which the Prophets of the Lord were distinguished, was nothing else, but the testimony of Prophecy itself, when fulfilled, and accomplished by the event: because this carried with it a proof of Divinity, as convincing as any, which heaven could give.

Let us now return to the Bishop's Discourses, in which he goes on to demonstrate the inconsistency of the Author's exposition, by telling us, "that it makes *Peter* to say, in his own person, that the dark Prophecies of the Old Testament were a surer and more certain evidence to himself, than the immediate voice of God, which he had heard with his own ears. *And is it possible*, adds he, *that St. Peter, or any man in his wits could make such a comparison* [m]? To which question, so smartly and confidently put, I readily answer; that it is not onely possible, that *St. Peter* might make such a comparison, but even weak to imagine, that he could make any other: which I shall presently explain, by stating a fact or two, universally acknowledged by all, both Jews and Christians. The spirit of Prophecy, which continued in the Jewish Church, till after it's restoration from the Babylonish captivity, had intirely ceased under the second Temple, for three centuries at least before the birth of Christ. But there succeeded to it, as all the Jewish writers unanimously testify, an *oracular voice from heaven*, which was given occasionally "to the leading Rabbies or Teachers of the Law, to direct them,

*Prophecy ceased under the
second Temple.*

[k] John xiii. 19.

[l] Ib. xvi. 4.

[m] Disc. p. 6.

how

Bath-Kol.

how to act or speak on particular emergencies. It is said, to have been accompanied generally with a kind of thunder, out of which it issued, in a clear and articulate manner, and thence derived its name of *Bath-Kol*; that is, the *daughter-voice*, or *daughter of a voice*. The *Bath-Kol*, says the learned *Lightfoot*, was this; *when a voice or thunder came out of heaven, another voice came out of it* [n]. This way of divine instruction is affirmed to have been subsisting during the time of our Savior, and to the final dissolution of the Jewish state; and is considered by all their Doctors, as an inferior kind of Prophecy, or a sort of twilight indulged to them after the Sun of Prophecy was set [o]; and from this pretended source, they derived the greatest part of those traditions, with which they corrupted the Law of *Moses*. This then being the general persuasion of the Jews, at the time, when St. *Peter* wrote his Epistle, he would necessarily prefer the evidence of Prophecy, which was always esteemed the highest and most perfect degree of Inspiration, under the first Temple, to the *Bath-Kol*, or a voice from heaven, the more imperfect Oracle of the second Temple; and which all the Jewish converts, and *Peter* himself without doubt, had been taught to consider, as of an authority much inferior to the original word of Prophecy, delivered to them by *Moses*, and the other antient Prophets. For the learned reckon four degrees of a Prophetic or divine Instruction, which were indulged to the Jewish Church: the first and most excellent was, the Spirit of Prophecy, properly so called, as it was gi-

4 degrees

Spirit of Prophecy

[n] See *Lightfoot's Works*, Vol. ii. p. 128. in *Matt.* iii. ver. 17.

N. B. Thus when *Jesus*, a little before his death, was addressing himself to the Father, in the midst of his disciples and people of *Jerusalem*, and saying; *Father, save me from this hour; Father, glorify thy name: There came a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again. Upon which the People, that stood by, and*

heard it, said that it thundered; others said, that an Angel spake to him, [*John xii. 28.*] That is; part of the company believed it to be nothing more, than an accidental clap of thunder; while others took it to be the *Bath-Kol*, or the voice of God, or of an Angel, which was accompanied always with thunder.

[o] See *Spencer* on the *Vulgar Prophecies*, c. vii. p. 126.

ven to *Moses*, and the succeeding Prophets: the second was, *The Holy Spirit*: the third, *Urim and Thummim*; the fourth and lowest, *the Bath-Kol* [p]. Which last, as *Grotius* says, was *the sole Oracle, which remained to them, during the time of the second Temple* [q].

*Holy Spirit.
Urim and Thummim
Bath-kol.
Grotius.*

The reality of this Oracular voice is attested, as I have said, by all the Jewish writers, after the cessation of Prophecy, in the same positive manner, as the miraculous gifts of the Christian Church, by the primitive Fathers, after the days of the Apostles; and innumerable instances of it are particularly recorded by the same writers: yet the ablest of our Divines, and the most conversant with the Rabbinical learning, have not scrupled to declare the whole story of it, to be a mere fiction, contrived to illustrate the characters and authority of some leading Rabbies, and recommend the particular Doctrines, which they were establishing. Such was the opinion of two learned Deans, and ornaments of our Church, Dr. *Spencer* and Dr. *Prideaux*; the first of whom, after declaring the *Bath-Kol* to be a Jewish Fable, says; "there were no two nations which have so corrupted histories, and obtruded so many legends upon the credulity of the world, to enhance the credit of their own people, as the *Jews, and the Grecians* [r]." And the second affirms, that the *Bath-Kol* was no such voice from heaven, as they pretended, but a phantastical way of divination of their own invention [s]." Dr. *Lightfoot* also, the Soundness of whose faith and erudition is allowed by all, speaks still more precisely to my present purpose, and says; "that if we observe two things, first, that the Jewish nation, under the se-

*Spencer Prideaux
Legends of Jews and Grecians.*

Lightfoot

[p] Quatuor gradus in Prophetia: primus, Prophetia: Secundus, Spiritus Sanctus: Tertius, Urim & Thummim. Quartus & infimus, *Filia vocis*. Druf. in Matt. iii. 17.

nus temporibus Templi secundi restabat, *Bath-Kol*, vocant. Grot. in Joh. xii. 28.

[r] Spencer ibid.

[s] Prid. Connect. Vol. ii. p. 256.

[q] Quod solum ferme Oraculi ge-

Edit. Fol.

under the 2 Temple

Magic

Delusions

Bath-Kol.

Prophecy surer.

“cond Temple, was given to Magical arts beyond measure : secondly, that it was given to believe all manner of delusions beyond measure ; we may safely suspect, that those voices, which they thought to be from heaven, and noted with the name of *Bath-Kol*, were either formed by the Devil in the air, to deceive the people ; or, by Magicians with Devilish art, to promote their own affairs :” from which he draws this inference, which I would recommend to the special consideration of this eminent Prelate ; Hence, adds he, *the Apostle Peter saith with good reason, that the word of Prophecy was surer, than a voice from heaven* [1].

Free thinkers again.
Hho? Collins.

Yet St. *Peter's* words, after all, as they are expounded by the freethinking author above-mentioned, do not necessarily imply him to mean, that Prophecy was a surer argument to himself, than the voice from heaven, which he had heard, but to the Jewish converts in general, who did not hear that voice, but received it onely from the report of others. It was not his view in this Epistle, to declare what sort of arguments was the most convincing to himself, but to propose such, as were most worthy of the attention of those, to whom he was writing, and most effectual to keep them stedfast in the faith, against the impressions of false teachers, who were laboring to seduce them : and that Prophecy is a properer argument, to repel the insults of unbelieving scoffers, than the report of a Miracle, is manifest, from the reason mentioned above from St. *Auslin* ; because a Miracle, and especially, *a voice from heaven*, might be imputed to Magical arts ; whereas a Prophecy, actually fulfilled, was not liable to any such imputation. When St. *Peter* therefore says, *We have a more sure word of Prophecy* ; the occasion of his words oblige us to interpret them, as spoken, not with any particular reference to himself, but to the general body of the Jewish Converts, to whose

[1] Vol. ii. p. 129.

attention he recommends them : and the constant use and analogy of all language will justify such an interpretation.

But should we admit, what His Lordship affirms, that the text, as it is expounded by that Author, makes *Peter prefer Prophecy, as a surer argument even to himself, than the voice, which he heard in the mount* ; how will this prove that exposition to be inconsistent, or that *Peter must be out of his wits in saying so* ? It is no offence surely, either to reason or religion, to imagine ; that this wonderfull apparition and heavenly voice, might be accompanied with such circumstances, as would naturally leave some doubt and perplexity on the mind, concerning the precise manner, and nature of the whole transaction. For *Peter*, as we read, was in such a fright and amazement, at what he saw and heard, *that he knew not what he said* : and both he and the two other Apostles, then with him, *James and John*, were so greatly terrified, that *they fell upon their faces to the ground, and durst not so much as look up, till Jesus*, when the vision was over, came to raise and encourage them [*u*].

*Order James and John
terrified.*

But be that as it will, and let *Peter* be as perfectly assured, as we can suppose him to be, of every circumstance, which passed in the Mount, he might still take Prophecy, considered as a standing evidence, always lying open to the cool and deliberate examination of reason, to be a firmer argument on the whole, and to carry a more permanent conviction with it to the sober senses of men, than the vision, with which he here compares it. For after all the conviction, which he himself had received from it, we know, that his faith was still so infirm, as to betray him into a shameful denial of his Master, whom he had seen so wonderfully glorified. We know on the other hand, that after our Lord's Ascension, when his faith was more fully confirmed, and his understanding enlightened by the mission of the Holy Ghost,

[*u*] Matt. xvii. 6. Mark ix. 6.

*Peter, more sure
Word, of Prophecy.* the chief argument, which he applied in all his Sermons, to evince the truth of the Gospel, was this *more sure word of Prophecy*, as he calls it; from which he demonstrated to the Jews, how the character, doctrine and mission of Jesus were foretold and described *by the mouths of all their Prophets [w]*.

Christ

I might now leave it to the reader to judge, whether in contradiction to what the Bishop maintains, a man in his wits, and especially a Jew, might not think Prophecy a stronger argument in general, than a voice from heaven, which he himself had heard; or at least, whether every man in his sober senses, would not sooner trust to the evidence of Prophecy, when allowed to be fulfilled, than to a voice from heaven, not heard by himself, but reported to him by another: for this in truth is the whole, which can reasonably be inferred from St. *Peter's* words. But before I dismiss this argument, I cannot help observing, that all, which His Lordship has been affirming so freely concerning the superior evidence of Miracles to that of Prophecy, seems to have been originally confuted, and the whole question determined against him, by Christ himself; who in one of his Parables declares, *that those, who would not hearken to Moses and the Prophets, would not be persuaded, though one rose from the dead [x]*; clearly intimating, that the word of Prophecy, as delivered in the Old Testament, carried with it a firmer proof of the truth of his Gospel to the Jews, than even the greatest of all his Miracles.

His Lordship observes farther, that the disparaging character, which *Peter* here gives of the word of Prophecy, shews, that he could not mean to recommend it, as the best evidence of the Christian faith, for he distinguishes it from *day-light*, and the *brightness of the day-star*, and compares it to a *light shining in a dark place*; or to the *glimmering light of a candle, seen at a distance in a dark night*: which though it gives some direction, yet is nothing,

[w] Acts ii. 19. iii. 18, 21, &c.

[x] Luke xvi. 31.

when

waken compared to clear day-light. And here he entertains us again, through a page or two, with a flourish of his oratory: "Is not this now, says he, a choice account of the evidence of the Gospel; nay, of the very best evidence, which we have of the Gospel? Are we still surrounded on all sides with darkness, assisted by one onely glimmering light? Was it thus, that Christ came to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of Israel? St. Peter, in his first Epistle, tells all Christians, *that they are called out of darkness into God's marvellous light*; how comes he then to tell them in the second, that they are still in darkness, and have nothing but a glimmering light to direct them? Can the same writer possibly be supposed to give such different accounts of the Gospel state? Ask St. Paul what state Christians are in, he will tell you, *that the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, has shone upon them.* Ask the Evangelists, they will tell you, *The day star from on high hath visited us, to give light to them, who sit in darkness.* Ask any, or all the Apostles, they will tell you, their commission is *to open the eyes of the people, and to turn them from darkness to light* [y]."

Yet all this pomp of words; this solemn appeal to the whole College of the Apostles and Evangelists, is nothing else but an empty strain of rhetoric, without any argument or significancy in it whatsoever. The state of the Gospel, he says, is described by the sacred writers, as a state of glorious light. But what is this to the purpose? Has the Author whom he is confuting, compared the light of Prophecy, to the glorious light of the Gospel? No: he considers it onely, as one of the proofs and evidences of the Gospel: and though it yields but a fainter light, it may still be the best, which we have, to guide us into the day-light of the Gospel: this is all, which the Author's exposition implies, and thus far it is certainly consistent. But the Bishop urges, that it makes the Apostle give

[y] Disc. p. vii. 8.

different accounts of the Gospel state in his two Epistles, telling the Christians in the first, that they are *called out of darkness into God's marvellous light*, yet telling them in the second, that *they are still in darkness*. But these different accounts are plainly given of different things, which his Lordship by mistake confounds and treats as one and the same: I mean the Gospel state, of which the Apostle is here speaking, and the state of those Jewish Converts, to whom he was then writing. For the Gospel state, when compared with *day-light*, and *the day-star*, necessarily signifies the perfection of that state, enlightened with all the knowledge, and enriched with all the graces, which are the genuine fruits of a perfect faith in Christ: but the state of the New Christians, to whom these Epistles are addressed, was far removed from that character: they were *called indeed into God's marvellous light*; and had made some progress towards it, but were not yet arrived at it: for as *Peter* expressly says, *the day had not yet dawned to them, nor the day-star arisen in their hearts*. For which reason he recommends to them *the word of Prophecy*, as the surest guide, to lead them through the obscurity of their doubts into clear day-light. And thus the Apostle's sense, as it is expounded by the Author, is clear and consistent, nor liable to any exception, but what flows from that perplexity, in which his Lordship has involved it, by his use of equivocal terms, and perpetual change of the point in question.

He takes it for granted, through all his Discourses, and builds his Argument upon it, that *Peter's* character of Prophecy, *as of a light shining in a dark place*, carries in it a very low and disparaging idea of it; and makes nothing more of it, than a twinkling candle teen at a distance in a dark night, But is not a *light, which shines in a dark place*, the greatest comfort, and best guidance, which a man can possibly have in a state of darkness, and the sole means, by which a wandering traveller can hope to extricate himself, and make his way at last into day-light? for this was the real use of Prophecy, as it was applied by the Apostles, to draw both the

Jews and Gentiles out of their darkness, into the light of the Gospel.

But all the Apostles and Evangelists, he says, if examined concerning the subject of their Commission, will tell us, that it was to open the eyes of the people, and to turn them from darkness to light. This indeed is true, but not the whole truth, nor is it that truth, which we are now enquiring after; and his Lordship, who is so celebrated a Trier of witnesses, must allow the adverse party, to examine them as well as himself. Let me ask them therefore in my turn, what were the means which they used, in virtue of their commission, to propagate that light, which they were ordered to dispense to the world? Matthew will tell us, on the part of the Evangelists, that it was the more sure word of Prophecy; by the evidence of which, he had shewn in his Gospel, how the mission of Jesus, and all the remarkable acts and sufferings of his life, were precisely and circumstantially foretold by the Prophets. Peter also will tell us, that, on the Feast of Pentecost, when the Apostles had received their full powers from heaven, he converted three thousand souls that very day, by the same word of Prophecy; and that in all his sermons, the chief argument which he applied to draw people out of their darkness, was to shew, that the character and mission of Jesus were foretold and described, many ages before, by the mouths of all the Prophets. If we follow St. Paul likewise through all his travels and labors, in propagating the Gospel, we shall find him, in every City, betaking himself to the Synagogue; reasoning there with the Jews, and opening and alledging to them from the Scriptures, that Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead; and that Jesus, whom he preached unto them, was the Christ; and in short, saying no other things, as he himself affirms, than those, which the Prophets and Moses did say, should come [a].

Matthew

Peter

Paul

His Lordship advances still one step farther, in depressing the

[a] Act. xiii. 27, &c. xvii. 3. xviii. 28.

evidence of Prophecy, and declares, " that St. *Peter* is so far from speaking of it as the best light to be had, for the point in question, that he manifestly speaks of it, as not the best, but as a light to be attended to onely, until a better comes : and he would not have limited any time for their attending to it, had he been considering it as the best support of the Christian faith, for in that sense it ought ever to be attended to [b]." And here again the turn of his argument would lead us to imagine, that his adversary had compared the light of Prophecy with the light of the Gospel ; for in any other view of it, it is nothing else but a mere quibble, which tends rather to confute, than support, what he attempts to establish. For to what time has *Peter* limited their attention to Prophecy? why, until the day should dawn, and the day-star arise in their hearts : that is, till they had acquired a full conviction, and stedfast faith in the truth of the Gospel. As if he had said, ye do well in attending to the word of Prophecy, till it has completed it's work, and wrought in you that effect, for which it was at first given, and for which I now recommend it, of confirming and perfecting your faith in Christ. Which instead of limiting their attention, is an exhortation for their perseverance in it, till the end of it was obtained, and no farther room left for any particular sollicitude or anxious enquiries on that subject.

Having now run through all the arguments, by which his Lordship endeavours to overthrow that Author's exposition, I shall procede to examine those, by which he attempts to establish his own.

He affirms, that the preference given by St. *Peter* in this text to the evidence of Prophecy was not intended by him to recommend it, as a stronger argument for the general truth of the Gospel, but onely for the particular article of Christ's coming down again in glory ; in the confirmation of which, the Apostle first

alleges to them *the glorification of Christ*, on the Mount, as one proof; and then adds *the word of Prophecy*, as another, still better, with regard to an event, which, being yet in futurity, admitted no surer evidence than of Prophecy [c].

After he has worked up this sense, with much hypothetical refinement, from a number of passages, arbitrarily tacked together from both the Epistles, and strained to his own purpose; by *supposing, what an Objector might say, and supposing again what the Apostle might answer*, he pronounces it, to be *easy, natural, rendering to every expression it's proper signification necessary to the Apostle's argument*; plainly enforced by the context, and clear of all difficulties [d].

But for my own part, when I recurred to the Epistles, after the perusal of this Discourse, I could neither see the necessity, nor propriety of his Lordship's exposition, nor the least reason from either of the Epistles, why *the word of Prophecy* should be disparaged, and degraded by him, from being a proof of the general truth of the Gospel, and restrained to the particular article of *Christ's coming in glory*.

The two Epistles of St. Peter have always been styled *Catholic*, or general, as not written to any particular Church, or to inculcate any particular doctrine; but addressed to the Jewish Converts at large, or dispersed through the several provinces of the East, for the sake of confirming them in that faith, in which they had been instructed, and to arm them against the Scoffers and false Teachers, who were busily employed, in beguiling and seducing them from that faith.

In the first Epistle, he puts them in mind, "how they were begotten again to a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus;

Peters Epistle addressed to the Jewish Converts at large.

[c] Disc. p. 13, 19, 22.

[d] Disc. p. 22.

" to an inheritance incorruptible, reserved for them in Heaven.
 " That the end of their faith was the salvation of Souls ; that the
 " Prophets had enquired diligently after this salvation, and prophe-
 " sied of the grace, that should come to them searching into the
 " time, signified by the Spirit of God, when it testified before-hand
 " of the sufferings of Christ, and the glory which should follow :
 " that they did not prophesy of things relating to themselves, but
 " of the things, which were reported by those who preached the
 " Gospel, and which the Angels desired to look into. Having
 " thus opened the foundation of their faith, from the ancient Pro-
 " phecies, and signified how this spiritual house, or Christian
 " Church, was built on that chief corner stone laid in Sion, as men-
 " tioned by Isaiah ; he exhorts them, to steadfastness in that faith,
 " which was so well grounded ; and to the practice of all those
 " graces, which are the fruits of it, holiness, sobriety, mutual
 " love, charity, vigilance : after which, he draws out a short
 " sketch of all the several duties required by the Gospel, from
 " every particular rank and condition of it's Disciples : from ser-
 " vants, from subjects, from wives, from husbands, from the old
 " and from the young. And because their present state was ex-
 " posed to manifold temptations and trials, from the malice of
 " their enemies, he drops several hints occasionally, by way of
 " comfort to them, concerning the speedy coming of Christ in
 " power and glory to deliver and reward them, and to take a
 " severe vengeance on their persecutors ; and concludes, by de-
 " claring, that his view in writing to them, was to exhort and
 " testify, that what he had briefly explained to them, was the true
 " grace of God, in which they stood."

In the second Epistle he admonishes them, " to make a proper
 " use of the exceeding grace, and precious promises, which were
 " given them through faith in Christ, by using all diligence, to
 " improve that faith, and carry it on to it's perfection, by adding
 " to it virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, bro-
 " therly kindness, charity, that they might not be unfruitful in the
 " knowledge

Faith and its Fruits

*Holiness, Sobriety, Love, Charity,
Vigilance*

*To Faith add Virtue, knowledge,
Temperance, Patience, Godliness,
Kindness, Charity.*

" knowledge of Christ, but make their election sure; of which
 " he would never fail to remind and stir them up, as long as he
 " lived. Then to confirm them against the scoffers and false
 " teachers, who were beguiling the unstable, and drawing them
 " away from the Gospel, he reminds them again, in short,
 " of the foundation of that faith, which had been preached to
 " them by the Apostles, as being grounded not on fabulous tales,
 " but on Miracles and Prophecy; alledging, as an instance of the
 " former, the miraculous attestation given to it by God on the
 " Mount, yet exhorting them to attend more especially to the
 " latter, as to an evidence *more sure*, or convincing to them: be-
 " cause *none of the Old Prophecies were dictated by the will of man,*
 " *but by the Spirit of God.* He then proceeds to a particular de-
 " scription of the wicked principles, manners, and characters of
 " those false teachers, who were bringing upon themselves swift
 " destruction; and in the third and last chapter declares, that this
 " second Epistle was written with the same view, as the first, *to*
 " *stir up their minds and memories, concerning the words spoken of*
 " *old by the Prophets, and commanded by the Apostles of our Lord.*
 " He assures them of the certainty of Christ's coming, notwith-
 " standing the scoffs of those deceivers, who seeing all things
 " continue in the same state, as in the days of the Fathers, and
 " not knowing what wonderful things God had formerly wrought
 " in the old world, derided the belief of it's approaching end:
 " but that the day of the Lord would come upon them unexpect-
 " edly, as a thief in the night, and this seeming delay of judge-
 " ment was not to be ascribed to any slackness of the Lord, con-
 " cerning the performance of his promise, but to his mercy and
 " long-suffering, that all might have time to repent and be saved:
 " which he urges as a motive, to persevere in an holy life, and to
 " beware, that they be not drawn away, by the error of the
 " wicked, and fall from the steadfastness of their faith."

In this abstract of the two Epistles, we see, as it were, the
 whole plan of Christian duty, with respect both to faith and
 VOL. III. Y practice,

practice, sketched out in a summary manner, agreeable to the purpose of the writer, which, as it is declared by himself, was to stir up the Jewish converts to a stedfast adherence to that faith, in which they had been instructed: And as the coming of Christ was one article of it, which was particularly derided by the scoffers of those days; so the certain and speedy approach of it is more especially inculcated, as an effectual source of comfort, and a strong motive of constancy, in those circumstances of persecution, to which they were then exposed. It is evident likewise, that all the use which is made by the Apostle, *of the word of Prophecy* in both the Epistles, is applied by him to the same general purpose, of confirming the whole Christian doctrine, and not to the particular proof of the single article of Christ's coming. For the Prophecies mentioned in the first Epistle, are declared to relate, *to the Salvation of Souls, which is obtained by the faith of Christ; to the sufferings of Christ, and the glory, which should afterwards follow; and in short, to the things, which were reported by those, who preached the Gospel, and which the Angels desired to look into:* which must be understood, to reach to the whole of Christianity; or *the whole mystery of man's redemption*, and cannot be restrained to one particular article of it. The second Epistle, from which the text is taken, was written, as it expressly tells us, with the same view as the first; *to stir up the Christians, and remind them of the words, which were spoken before by the Prophets, and preached to them afterwards by the Apostles;* which must include likewise the whole faith: according to which sense and in no other, St. Peter's reasoning will be found clear and just, in his application both of *the miracle in the Mount, and of the word of Prophecy*, and in the preference given to the latter, with regard to the general force of its evidence.

The *Glorification of Christ*, which Peter saw, and *the voice of God*, which he heard, declaring *Jesus to be his beloved Son*, was undoubtedly a strong proof of Christ's divine mission: Yet to those, who did not hear that voice, *the word of Prophecy*, considered

dered as a standing evidence, is surely a much firmer and more rational proof of it. But that same *glorification*, though a strong argument for the truth of Christ's mission, is no argument at all for his coming again in glory. This the Bishop himself allows, and even ridicules the notion of its carrying any real evidence of that sort. *Can any certainty, says he, as to future events, be collected from past events? or can any thing we see this year, assure us, what will happen to us the next [e]?* It is absurd then to imagine, that St. Peter should alledge *the glorification of Christ in the Mount*, as a proof of his coming again in glory, of which in reality it was no proof at all; or should compare the evidence of Prophecy, to the evidence of a particular Miracle, with regard to a particular event, to which that Miracle bore no sort of relation. Whereas if we suppose him to have compared them together, as arguments for *the mission of Jesus*, of which they are both good proofs, the comparison is rightly instituted, and the preference justly given to Prophecy.

Thus far however all people will agree with his Lordship, that Prophecy is as sure an argument for the coming of Christ, as the vision in the Mount, because that vision, as he owns, is no argument at all: but he assigns another reason, which is not quite so clear; *because Christ's coming is an event yet in futurity, for which therefore we can have no surer evidence than Prophecy.* But Prophecy not fulfilled, carries with it, as I have said above, no evidence at all, nor is an event in futurity capable of being ascertained by any; and cannot therefore be a just ground for giving the title of *sure*, or *more sure*, to any sort of evidence whatsoever. The article of Christ's coming, is an express doctrine of the Gospel, taught both by Christ and all his Apostles, so that the Jewish converts to whom St. Peter was writing, could not possibly doubt of it, without doubting at the same time of the whole, which the Apostles had been preaching to them concerning all the other

Christ's coming in futurity.

[e] Disc. p. 21.

doctrines and facts of the Gospel ; and, in such a case, it would have been vain and trifling, to attempt to confirm their faith, by a particular Prophecy not yet fulfilled, when they had conceived a distrust of all the other Prophecies, which had been alledged to them by the Apostles, as actually fulfilled.

The prediction of things to come, can, at the most, raise onely an expectation or presumption, more or less strong, in proportion to the authority of the person, who delivers it. To men persuaded that all the remarkable things, foretold in the Old Testament, concerning the *Messiah*, were actually fulfilled in *Jesus*, the presumption would be strong, that any other event, still future, foretold by the same Prophets, and relating to the same *Jesus*, would be accomplished in due time. But to those, who doubted of the Prophecies already fulfilled, the prediction of an event still future, urged by way of confirmation to them, might help indeed to increase their doubts, but could not in any manner be applicable to the cure of them. So that the Bishop's exposition of the *word of Prophecy* in the text, as applied to the particular case of Christ's coming, could not possibly answer the Apostle's end of confirming the faith of those, to whom he was writing, or have any influence at all with them, unless he had really meant to propose it, as the firmest evidence on the whole, for the general truth of the Gospel.

His Lordship adds one argument more, for the final overthrow of that Author's exposition, by saying, " that *the more sure word of Prophecy* here mentioned, is not to be understood merely of " the Prophecies of the Old Testament, for it may refer to the " Prophecies of the New ; and probably does, as appears from " *St. Peter's* appealing, not onely to the antient Prophets, but " also to the preachers of the Gospel. How unhappily then, " adds he, was this text made choice of, to set up antient Prophecy in opposition to Gospel evidence, since the Prophecy here " intended

“intended is probably itself a Gospel-evidence? &c. [f].”

Yet while he insults his adversary, for his *unhappy application of this text*, to set up the credit of antient Prophecy, he is certainly more unhappy, in hazarding so crude a reflection; which is confuted even by St. *Peter* himself, on whose authority he grounds it; who, in the very next words to the text, plainly limits the sense of it, *to the Prophecies of the Old Testament*; and gives this reason for setting up Prophecy, *because no Prophecy of the Scripture is of private interpretation: for Prophecy came not of old by the will of man, but holy men of God spake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost* [g]. For it is a point allowed and indisputable, that wherever the writers of the New Testament speak of the *Scripture* in general, or *of the Prophecies of the Scripture*, they must be understood to speak onely of the Old Testament, and the Prophecies therein recorded.

We are now come to the Bishop's second Discourse, the chief purpose of which is, to illustrate the nature of Prophecy, from the testimonies of the sacred writers; and to shew what St. *Peter's* meaning was, *in comparing it to a light shining in a dark place, and in making it's evidence so much inferior to the other evidence of the Gospel*. But His Lordship's zeal seems to be bent rather, on refuting what his adversary has affirmed, that on searching what St. *Peter* really meant; and on contradicting the Free-thinker at any rate, though at the hazard of contradicting the Apostle.

who! Collins.

St. *Peter*, as it is manifest from every part of his conduct, had a very high opinion of the evidence of Prophecy, and applied it on all occasions, as the most effectual proof, which he could offer to the Jews for the *mission of Jesus, or the general truth of the Gospel*. Yet when the Free-thinker, upon his authority, had undertaken to consider it in the same character, the Bishop begins

[f] Disc. p. 23. [g] 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.

presently

presently to depreciate and reduce it so low, as to render it of no use at all. For this is the description, which he gives us of the Prophecies of the Old Testament; "that they are generally
 "penned in such a manner, that one cannot fix the precise and
 "determinate sense of them with any certainty [b]: That they
 "are dark speeches, delivered in visions and dreams; and were
 "never intended to be a very distinct evidence [i]: that they are
 "figurative and dark descriptions of future events, which could
 "not be made clearer, by being even fulfilled, but would have
 "all the obscurity of figurative and dark descriptions, as well
 "after, as before the event [k]; and that no event can make a
 "figurative expression plain, or literal; or restrain the language
 "of Prophecy to one determinate sense, which was originally capable of many [l]."

Sherlock!

(could Sherlock talk thus?)

How different a character is this, from what Dr. *Spencer* has given of the same Prophecies? which stand, he says, "perpetuated in Scripture, and fall therefore under the daily notices
 "of men; so that when the events foretold come to pass, they
 "may readily be compared with the predictions; which, the
 "more antient date they bear, the more wonderfull will they appear, when accomplished, and the more full reports will they
 "make, of their divine original, and of the Scripture, wherein
 "they are found. For there is nothing doth so seal the faith of
 "the divine inspiration of Scripture, as the various predictions
 "therein delivered, at such distant times and places, exactly accomplished in their seasons [m]."

Spencer,

But even the literal Prophecies find no better treatment from his Lordship than the dark and the figurative: "for these, he
 "says, how plainly soever foretold, were not always the plainest

Sherlock!

[b] Disc. p. 29.

[i] Ib. p. 30.

[k] Ib. p. 32.

[l] Ib. p. 36.

[m] See Spencer on Vulg. Proph.

c. iii. p. 50.

“ at the time of their delivery, nor received by the Jews in their
 “ true meaning, for the seeming incredibility of the things: for
 “ an instance of which, he gives this Prophecy; *a Virgin shall* *A Virgin shall conceive.*
 “ *conceive a son*: which being contradictory to all the experience
 “ of the world, was not probably believed by the Jews of those
 “ days to import a miraculous conception; because common sense
 “ would lead them to understand it in a manner agreeable to na-
 “ ture and experience [n].”

This is surely a very rash and unguarded declaration. Did not
 the Jews look upon their Prophets, to have been really inspired?
 and were not miraculous events of all kinds familiar to them in
 every period of their history? did they not know, how God, for
 the defence of his people, had frequently over-ruled the established
 order of nature, and baffled all the experience of mankind? how
 he had made *the sun to stand still, or go backwards* at his pleasure, *The Sun to stand still or*
 for a sign to his servants [o], and had ordered the waters of the *go backward.*
 sea to separate themselves, and open a safe passage to the armies
 of Israel [p]? Is it possible then, that their faith and reason could
 be shocked by the *conception of a virgin*, when affirmed to them,
 in the name of the same God, by persons divinely inspired? yet
 this, it seems, was the case, and a Prophecy so wonderfull, could
 not be understood by *the Jews*, on the account of it's contradic-
 tion to common sense, *till the event had shewn the literal meaning,*
to be the true one [q].

But His Lordship is as unlucky in the choice of this particular
 instance, as he is injudicious in his reflection upon it: for of all
 the Prophecies relating to *Jesus*, this alone is of a kind, which is
 incapable of being made clearer by the event. His resurrection
 from the dead, how incredible soever in the prediction, was cleared
 up, beyond all doubt, by the event, to all those, who saw and

[n] Disc. p. 34.

[o] Josh. x. 12. Isa. xxxvii. 8.

[p] Exod. xiv. 21.

[q] Disc. p. 34.

conversed with him after it: and so in all the other miraculous cases which were foretold of him, the event, if exposed to the open view and trial of men's senses, would clearly confirm the divinity of the prediction. But, *the conception of a virgin*, is a Miracle of that peculiar nature, which could not be seen by any, nor known to any, but to the Virgin Herself, except by a divine revelation: so that the credibility of it, whether in the prediction, or in the accomplishment, intirely depended, and still depends, on the authority of the persons, who attested it. With the Jews, therefore, the event was much more likely, to derive its credit from the prediction, than the prediction from the event; because the Prophets, who foretold it, had a more established credit with them, than the Apostles, who reported the completion of it. Wherefore if, as His Lordship says, they rejected the *literal prediction*, on the account of its incredibility, they had the same reason, or a stronger still, for rejecting *the literal accomplishment* of it; unless he can shew, that the Inspiration of the Prophets might be distrusted by them in this case, but the inspiration of the Apostles could not.

He begins, however, to be aware at last, "that it may seem strange, to hear a Christian Divine, pleading, as it were, for the obscurity of the Scripture-prophecy, when it would be thought more suitable to his character, to maintain the clearness of it: wherefore he pauses here a while, to make a short apology for himself; and *wishes to God, that all the Prophecies of the Lord were manifest to all his people*. But though, it is not of the nature of Prophecy, he says, to be obscure; since things future may be spoken of as clearly, as things either past or present, and Prophecy be made as plain as common history: yet obscurity being the peculiar character of Scripture-prophecy, it matters but little what we may wish or think the best in the case, we must be content with such light and direction, as God has thought fit to bestow upon us [r]." Where I shall

leave it to all candid Christians to consider ; whether, if the Free-thinker's attack on the prophetic evidence of the Gospel had been wholly slighted, or his argument allowed even to be true, it could have done any more harm to the credit of the Gospel, than the Bishop's own account of Prophecy is likely to do. The purpose of that Author was, to shew, that the Prophecies of the Old Testament, as they are applied by the Apostles in the New, are in reality no proof at all, nor capable of persuading any, but the weak and the credulous. His Lordship's character of Prophecy tends to the same end, and as far as the Apostles have applied the evidence of it to the confirmation of the Gospel, must of consequence weaken the credit of the Gospel. The Prophecies of the *Pythian Apollo* were indeed obscure, equivocal, and ambiguous, admitting not onely different, but contrary senses ; so that the character here given *of the Scripture-prophecies, was undoubtedly true of them, that no event could restrain them to one determinate sense, when they were originally capable of many.* For if the obvious sense failed, as it often did, to the ruin of those, who acted upon it, there was another always in reserve, to secure the veracity of the Oracle : till this very character of it's ambiguous and ænigmatical senses, confirmed by constant observation, gradually sunk its credit, and finally detected the imposture [s]. Is it possible then, that the same character can be due to the Jewish Prophecies, which the wise and virtuous of the Heathen World considered as an argument of fraud and falsehood in the Pythian Prophecies ?

The Bishop no better than the Free-thinker.

Pythian.

[s] Jam ad te venio,

Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides,

Unde superstitiosa primum sæva evasit vox fera.

Tuis enim Oraculis Chrysippus totum & fors ipsa ad sortes referenda sit ; par-volumen implevit, partim falsis, ut ego tim ambiguus, & quæ ad dialecticum re-ferenda sunt, &c.

Cic. de Divin. ii. 56.

I have observed above, that His Lordship reduces the credit of Prophecy so low, as to render it of no use at all. But after all his pains to depress it, he declares it to have been given for two great purposes: first, *to support the faith and religion of the old world*; secondly, *to give testimony to the mission of Jesus*, who appeals to the Prophets for the truth of it. The first of these he affirms to be the chief and most important end: "for there was
 "no occasion, he says, to lay in so long beforehand the evidence
 "of Prophecy, to convince men of things, that were to happen
 "in their own times: and that it gives a low idea of the admini-
 "stration of Providence, in sending Prophets, one after another,
 "in every age, from *Adam to Christ*, to imagine, that all this *Ap-
 "paratus* was for their sakes, who lived in, or after the times of
 "Christ [1]."

low Idea!

*Dark Speeches, ambiguous
 phrases.*

But if the principal end of the antient Prophecies was really such, as he assigns to them, God would surely have given them a character, proper and adequate to that end. Whereas, according to his representation of them, they seem calculated rather to subvert, than to support the faith and religion of mankind. For it is impossible, *that dark speeches, ambiguous phrases, carrying no precise meaning, or distinct evidence*, should produce any thing in the minds of men, but doubts, scruples, and uncertainties, which are all opposite to faith and religion. He tells us still farther, "that these antient Prophecies, these supports of faith and religion, were not understood by those, who delivered them,
 "though they searched diligently into the meaning of them, and
 "if the inspired and righteous of the old world, to whom the
 "word of God came, did not understand them, it is certain, that
 "others less qualified could have but a confused and indistinct no-
 "tion of them [u]." Where he might as well have told us, that mists and clouds were given for the propagation of light, as con-

[1] Disc. p. 37.

[u] Page 28.

fused

fused and indistinct notions, for the support of faith. Whatever creates faith, must first convince the understanding: but Prophecies not understood by those, who delivered them, and less still by those, who heard them, and which conveyed nothing to the mind, but confused and indeterminate ideas, might serve indeed to disturb the faith, and pervert the religion of the world, but could never be of use, to support or confirm them.

It is certain then, that the antient Prophecies, as they are described at least by His Lordship, could not be chiefly intended, to support the faith and religion of the Old world. But whatever character they may deserve, or whatever light they may carry in them, it is allowed, that they all bear a relation to the person and coming of the Messiah, or that Great Prophet and Deliverer, who was to arise in the land of *Judæa*: and as this was the common subject of them all, so it was undoubtedly the principal end of them all, (though he ridicules it as a low and inferior end) to mark out, from time to time, more and more distinctly, the character and qualities of that expected Prophet, and to prepare the world for the reception of a new religion, wholly strange and inconceivable, not onely to the wisest of men, but to the apprehension even of Angels. And in Prophecies of this kind, whose chief end was, to open gradually such a wonderfull scheme of salvation and redemption, to be wrought, after a succession of many ages, some obscurity must necessarily be found, from the sublime and mysterious nature of the subject itself.

Let us here consider a while, how our argument now stands; and what light we have gained from the premises towards settling a just notion of *the use and intent of Prophecy*, which the Bishop professes to teach us in these Discourses.

In the first place then, it is evident, from the practice both of Christ and of his Apostles, that in preaching the Gospel to the Jews, they took all occasions of applying the Prophecies of the

Whiston.

Old Testament, singly and separately, to each remarkable circumstance of the life and ministry of Jesus, as so many direct and decisive proofs of his divine mission. The learned Mr. *Whiston*, who seems to have inquired into this subject with great diligence and accuracy, says; "It appears to me, upon a particular examination, that not onely the Apostles, *who might possibly be supposed to be mistaken sometimes in such applications*, but our blessed Savior himself, who could not be supposed ever to be so mistaken, always quoted these texts, as really, properly, and singly belonging to himself, as the true Messias; and as just proofs that he was so [w]." Thus *Jesus*, as I have observed above, applying to himself a particular Prophecy, in which the principal characters of the *Messiah* are briefly sketched out, says; *This day, is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears* [x]. Which is a testimony surely as precise and distinct, as any can possibly be. The Evangelists also and Apostles applied the antient Prophecies in the same manner, as so many direct proofs of the truth of the Gospel; and plainly signify this, to have been the genuin use and intent of them, in the designation of God himself; who moved his Prophets, to deliver them in that particular manner, that by tallying so circumstantially with the events, they might yield a demonstrable proof, that they could not relate to any one, but to *Jesus*. Thus in the course of their several Gospels, wherever they mention any notable act or occurrence relating to him, as prefigured in the Old Testament, their constant way of expressing it is; such a thing was done or suffered by him, *that the Scriptures of the Prophets might be fulfilled*: or as *Jesus* himself says, *thus it is written, and thus it becometh Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day* [y]. Since this then was the use of Prophecy, which we find to have been taught and practised, both by Christ and his Apostles, it confutes at once the general argu-

[w] See his *Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prop.* p. 20. § x.

[y] *Matth.* xxi. 4. *Luke* xxiv. 46. *John* xiii. 18. xvii. 12. &c.

[x] *Luke* iv. 21.

ment of His Lordship's *two first Discourses*: The purpose of which is, to shew, that the *Scripture-prophecies* were never intended, to be a very distinct evidence; and, if considered singly, are incapable, from the nature of them, of affording any satisfactory proof, when they come to be confronted with the objections of unbelievers.

Secondly, it appears also from what has been said, that the Evangelists, in collecting all the Prophecies of the Old Testament, which they imagined to relate to *Jesus*, never looked for them any higher, than to *the Law, and the Prophets*; nor ever appealed to any other, than what they found there; following herein the example of their Master, who, in expounding all the prophetic Scriptures, which were applicable to himself, began with the Prophecy of *Moses* [z]. Thus, as *St. John* tells us, *Philip*, finding, *Nathanael*, said to him, *We have found him, of whom Moses, in the law, and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth the Son of Joseph* [a]. Which fact confutes likewise at once the grand scheme of his four remaining discourses, and shews his pretended chain of antediluvian Prophecies, to be a vain and impertinent fancy, which has no sort of relation to the evidence of the Gospel.

*Antediluvian Prophecies,
a vain fancy.*

This being the case, I might here put an end to my remarks, and spare myself the trouble of animadverting on the rest of his Lordship's Discourses; but since the subject of the third is of a very curious kind, in which he opens his grand scheme, traces out the rise and progress of divine Prophecy, and shews the real end, which God intended to serve by it [b]; it will not perhaps be disagreeable to the reader, to wait upon him a little farther, that, by examining the foundation, or first link of his prophetic chain, we may the better judge of its ability to sustain that immense weight and length, which he ascribes to it.

[z] "And beginning at *Moses* and all the Prophets, &c. *Luk.* xxiv. 27.

[a] *John* i. 45.

[b] *Disc.* p. 47.

His scheme in short is this: "that Man, like all the other works of God, came perfect out of the hands of the Creator; furnished with light enough to see his duty, and to attain all the happiness, for which he was designed; but being made a free and moral agent he fell from his duty and incurred the displeasure of God. In this state, having forfeited all title to happiness and to life itself, he had no comfort left to him: the natural law could offer none; it had already condemned him, and could suggest nothing but a fearful expectation of punishment; all the hope, which remained, was; that God might freely pardon him upon his repentance; but whether he would or not, natural religion could not teach: and should God think fit to be reconciled to him, the natural law must again become the rule of his future obedience; so that all his hopes and confidence must arise from the promise of God; that is, from *the word of Prophecy*; for which reason, Prophecy must ever be an essential, part of such a sinner's religion.

"Our first Parents being reduced to this desperate condition; deprived of all hopes by a sense of their guilt, and under the terrible apprehension of the divine vengeance, God came down, to judge them, yet with intentions of shewing mercy, and rescuing them finally from that ruin, which they had brought upon themselves. For this end, *the word of Prophecy now came in*; not in opposition to natural religion, but in the support of it, and to convey new hopes to man; without which religion could no longer have subsisted in the world; because a sense of religion without hope, is a state of phrenzy and distraction [c]."

The Prophecy which *is now said to come in*, is a part of the sentence, pronounced by God upon the Serpent, in these words; *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy*

Prophecy.
I will put enmity.

[c] P. 53, 54, 61, &c.

seed

seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel: which he calls the groundwork and foundation of all the Prophecies, which have been ever since; and the sole support of religion, in the antediluvian world [d]. The authority of it is grounded on the Mosaic account of the fall, considered as an historical narration of facts, supposed to have been transacted, in the manner as they are described: and the more, and oftner it is considered, he says, in all it's circumstances, the more will this interpretation of it prevail. He owns however, that it might have been expected from him, to have cleared it in the first place from the difficulties, which arise from it, yet he thinks it sufficient to say, that nothing material could be added to what has already been said on that subject [e]. But for my part, as oft as I have had occasion to consider this case, I have ever found myself persuaded still more and more, that the historical sense was so far from being the sense of the writer, or in any degree probable, that it was utterly absurd and contradictory to reason. *Historical Sense, absurd.*

His Lordship supposes man to have come perfect out of the hands of his Creator, and furnished with sufficient light, to see and to perform his duty, without an admonisher at every turn at his elbow [f]. He supposes the law, which was given to him, as the guide of his nature, to have been complete, if he had obeyed it, but after he had once transgressed, it had no healing clause which could save him from punishment, till God thought fit to supply it by the word of Prophecy. This is smooth and plausible, and easily swallowed by those, who take every thing for sacred which is delivered from the Pulpit: but men, who inquire into things, will meet with many absurdities, which reason must wink at, and many incredibilities, which faith must digest, before they can admit the authority of this Prophecy, upon the evidence of this historical narration.

[d] P. 54.

[e] P. 55.

[f] P. 50.

A natural

the natural Law
in this Narration

A natural law, we see, is supposed to have been implanted in the very frame of man at his creation, pointing out to him his chief good and happiness, and enabling him to acquire it. And in truth, it is not possible to conceive him to have been placed upon this earth by God, without being furnished with natural powers, proper to support and preserve him, in that perfection of his nature, in which he was originally created. Yet in this *historical narration*, we cannot discover the least trace of any natural law, nor of any religion, which reason could teach. Reason and nature appear to have had no rule in the *Paradisiacal state*; all things in it were ordered miraculously and supernaturally by the immediate interposition of God; and the Admonisher no sooner retired from the elbow of our first Parents, than the Serpent stepped in, and beguiled them.

Had they been left to the direction of the natural law, it would have taught them, that the primary end of their creation was, to propagate their species; but from this *historical narration* we find, that during their state of innocence, they were utterly ignorant of this end; and did not know *their own nakedness*, till they were expelled out of Paradise. The natural law could not teach them, that the fruit of a tree would inspire knowledge; or that *the knowledge of good and ill* could be criminal or hurtful: nor was it the light of reason which directed them, to *hide themselves from the sight of God among the trees*. When the beasts of the field were brought before *Adam*, that he might give names to them; the same law, which instructed him to give them names, proper to their several natures, would have taught him at the same time, that they were all dumb, and that the use of speech was the peculiar privilege of man, to whom the dominion over them was given; yet in this historical narration, we find one of the lowest of those beasts holding discourse, and debating with *Eve*, without giving the least shock or surprize to her natural reason. Lastly, when the wonderful works of the Creator had convinced our first
Parents

Parents of his infinite power, and wisdom and goodness, the natural law could not inform them, that there was another invisible Being in the world, of an opposite nature absolutely wicked, malicious; and endued likewise with great power, which he was perpetually employing, to defeat all the good and happiness, which God had provided for his creatures: and since this was neither discoverable to their reason, nor revealed to them by their Maker, how can we imagine, that God would expose their simplicity, unarmed and uninstructed, to the assaults of an insidious tempter, so greatly superior to them both in craft and power?

But his Lordship being apprehensive, that the reasoners of this world might break in upon him, and rudely unravel his fine-spun scheme, takes care to enter his protest against a certain set of them, whom, for the grossness of their infidelity, he excludes from *all right to debate in this question*, and describes under the following character:

“To some unbelievers, says he, the history of the fall would have been altogether as incredible, though perhaps not quite so diverting, had it been told in the simplest and plainest language. ‘Tis to little purpose therefore, to trouble them with an account of the genius of the Eastern people, and their language; for you may as soon persuade them, that a Serpent tempted *Eve*, as that an evil spirit did. If you ask, why the Devil might not as well speak to *Eve*, under the form of a Serpent, as give out Oracles to the old Heathen world, under that and many other forms? you gain nothing by the question; for Oracles, whether *Heathen* or *Jewish*, are to them alike, they dispute not their authority, but their reality. This is a degree of unbelief, which has no right to be admitted to debate the question now under consideration [g].”

Every man of sense must necessarily be surprized, to find this

eminent Prelate proclaiming here from the Pulpit, the great impiety of *disbelieving the Heathen Oracles*, or denying them to have been *given out by the Devil*. Yet whatever he may please to write, or preach concerning this heinous crime, I freely own myself to be guilty of it, and think myself sufficiently warranted to pronounce from the authority of the best and wisest of the Heathens themselves, and the evidence of plain facts, which are recorded of those Oracles, as well as from the nature of the thing itself, that they were all mere impostures, wholly invented and supported by human craft, without any supernatural aid or interposition whatsoever.

Fontenelle
Cicero.

Demosthenes

Strabo

Eusebius.

If his Lordship had read the short *History of Oracles*, by M. De Fontenelle, he would have learnt, that *Cicero*, speaking of the *Delphic Oracle*, the most revered of any, in the Heathen world; declares, *that nothing was become more contemptible, not only in his days, but for a long time before him*: that *Demosthenes*, who lived about three hundred years earlier, affirmed of the same Oracle, in a public speech to the people of *Athens*, that *it was gained to the interests of King Philip*, an enemy to that city: that the Greek Historians tell us, how, on several other occasions, it had been corrupted by money, to serve the views of particular Princes and parties, and the Prophets sometimes deposed, for bribery, and for lewdness: that there were some great sects of Philosophers, who, by principle, disavowed the authority of all Oracles: agreeably to all which, *Strabo* tells us, that Divination in general and Oracles had been in high credit among the antients, but in his days, were treated with much contempt: Lastly, that *Eusebius* also, the great Historian of the primitive Church, declares, that there were *six hundred writers among the Heathens themselves*, who had publicly written against the reality of them.

Is it not amazing then, that a Christian Bishop should so zealously preach up the reality of those Oracles, which the most learned and virtuous of the Heathens themselves condemned

as a despicable imposture? But the primitive Fathers constantly affirmed them to have been the real effects of a supernatural power, and *given out by the Devil*: and this without doubt is the ground of that zeal which his Lordship expresses in favor of their reality. Yet here again, the same M. *De Fontenelle* would have informed him, that, while those Fathers preferred that way of combating the authority of the Oracles, as the most commodious to themselves and to the state of the controversy, between them and the Heathens, yet they believed them at the same time, to be nothing else, but the effects of human fraud and contrivance: which he has illustrated, by the examples of *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Origen*, and *Eusebius* [b].

Clemens. Origen. Eusebius.

I chuse to refer his Lordship on this occasion, to the learned and ingenious M. *de Fontenelle*, who is a Papist, still living in a Popish country; where he enjoys, in a good old age, the full credit and respect, which is due to his great merit, notwithstanding his avowed *unbelief of the Heathen Oracles*, and the fatal blow which he has given to their authority: while the same unbelief in this free or Protestant country, is declared here by a Protestant Bishop to be of so criminal a nature, that it ought at least to be silenced, and banished from all philosophical or religious debate. His Lordship addresses himself in the next place to another set of Unbelievers, *not infidels*, he says, *with regard to religion in general*, like the first sort, who deny the *reality of the Heathen Oracles*, but whose minds are shocked only with some particular circumstances of *this History*: with these therefore he condescends to debate in the following manner, and says, "I desire them to consider, that the
"speculations arising from the history of the fall, and the intro-
"duction of natural and moral evil into the world, are of all
"others the most abstruse, and furthest removed out of our reach:
"that this difficulty led men in the earliest time, to imagine two
"independent principles of good and evil; a notion destructive of

Origin of evil.

[b] Hist. des Oracles par M. *De Fontenelle*, vid. *Strabo*. l. xvii. p. 1168. A.

Devil

Angels Fall

Parables.

“ the sovereignty of God, the maintenance of which is the principal end and design of the Mosaic history. Had the history of man’s fall plainly introduced an invisible evil being, to confound the works of God, and to be the author of iniquity, it might have given great countenance to this error, of two Principles: or, to prevent it, *Moses* must have writ an history of the *Angels fall* likewise; a point I suppose, to which his commission did not extend, and of which perhaps we are not capable judges; and since this difficulty might in a great measure be avoided, by having recourse to the common usage of the Eastern countries, which was to clothe history in parables and similitudes, it seems not improbable, that for this reason the history of the fall was put into the dress in which we now find it [2].”

Diverting
Shocking.

I am at a loss to conceive, what his Lordship can aim at in this paragraph, or how it can possibly remove the scruples of those, to whom it is addressed. To the former set of unbelievers, who are enemies to religion, this history, he tells us, is *diverting*; but to these, it seems, who are friends to it, it is *shocking*: yet the history itself all the while is quite harmless and inoffensive, if taken in it’s right sense; and the whole ground either of the diversion, which it gives to the enemies, or of scandal, to the friends of religion, lies in the absurd interpretations, and senseless whims, which the Jewish and Christian Divines have in all ages been ingrafting upon it.

For instance, if it is to be received as a literal, or *historical narration* of things, transacted in the manner in which they are described, then the discourse of a Serpent, tempting and beguiling our first Parents, must needs appear shocking to every man: or if, as his Lordship would persuade us, the Devil, under that borrowed form, was the real temptor; this is still more shocking, as

being not onely void of all support from the text, but contradictory to the express sense of it, which ascribes the success of the Serpent, to the natural subtilty of the beast; *Now the Serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field, which the Lord God had made, and he said unto the woman, &c. [k].* The curse also denounced against the deceiver, restrains it to a mere serpent. *Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattell, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel [l].* For this being the whole sentence, which was pronounced on the Deceiver, and the literal execution of it upon the serpent, being verified to us at this day, by the nature of that animal, it shews, that it must have been pronounced upon a real Serpent, exclusively of any other agent, or it could not possibly be just. But the introduction of the Devil embarrasses the case still more, as it is more glaringly inconsistent with the Attributes of the Deity; which the Bishop in effect confesses, yet, with his usual dexterity, clears the narration from any objection of that sort, by this curious observation; *that if an invisible evil Being had indeed been plainly introduced into the scene, it might have given great countenance to the error, of two independent principles; but Moses being aware of this, and having no commission to write an History of the fall of the Angels, which would have accounted for the origin of evil, not being at liberty therefore to introduce the Devil openly, contrived, for the sake of avoiding that inconvenience, to keep him always out of sight, and behind the curtain, as it were, by clothing the story, after the Eastern fashion, in parables and similitudes.*

CURSE

No paragraph surely, in which a point of such high importance is treated, was ever more conspicuously trifling than this. The difficulty, which his Lordship attempts to account for, is the

[k] Gen. iii. 1.

[l] Ib. ver. 14, 15.

introduction

Abstruse

introduction of natural and moral evil into the world ; and the sum of what he suggests for the comfort of those, who are shocked by it, is ; “ that it is a point of all others the most abstruse, “ and what gave birth to the pernicious notion of two *independent* “ *Principles of good and ill* : that if God had instructed *Moses* to “ give us an history of the fall of the Angels, it would have prevented this error ; but since *Moses*’s commission did not reach “ so far, he could not openly introduce into the history of man’s “ fall, an invisible evil Being, who was able to confound the “ works of God, without strengthening the said error : wherefore “ he contrived to introduce him in masquerade, or in the dress of “ a Serpent ; so that though the weak and simple could not discover him, yet the sharp-sighted and judicious might still find him “ out, and be enabled by that means, to satisfy both their own “ and other people’s scruples, and unfold this abstruse question, “ of the origin of evil.

Sanconiatho.

“ For the Serpent, adds his Lordship, was remarkable for insidious cunning, and therefore stood a proper emblem of a Deceiver, and yet being one of the lowest of the creatures, the emblem gave no suspicion of any power concerned, that might pretend to rival the creator. This method has not so obscured this History, but that we may with great certainty come to the knowledge of all that is necessary for us to know. Let us consider the history of *Moses*, as we should do any other ancient history of like antiquity : suppose, for instance, that this account of the fall had been preserved to us out of *Sanconiatho*’s “ *Phœnician History*.—’Tis no unreasonable thing surely, to demand the same equity in interpreting the sense of *Moses*, as you “ would certainly use towards any other ancient writer [m].”

This demand indeed is reasonable ; and what all the lovers of truth will allow ; that the books of *Moses* have a right to be interpreted

[m] P. 57.

preted

puted with the same candor, which is commonly indulged to all other ancient writers. Upon this foot then we will join issue, and consider the history of the fall, and the particular condemnation of the Serpent, as a story delivered to us by some old *Phœnician Historian*. But before I declare my own opinion upon it in this light, it may be more satisfactory perhaps to the reader, to be informed of what an abler writer has already declared upon it; I mean the late Dr. *Burnet of the Charter-House*, who speaking to this very point, of the *Scriptural account of the fall*, says;

Burnet.

“ Great is the force of prejudice and preconceived opinions
 “ on the minds of men. We receive these short commentaries
 “ and little stories, of the origin of men and things, from the
 “ mouth of *Moses*, without examination or hesitation: but if we
 “ had met with the same doctrine in another writer; in a *Greek*
 “ *Philosopher* for instance, or in a *Jewish* or *Mahometan Doctor*;
 “ the mind would have been perplexed and set fast, as it were,
 “ in every period, by doubts and objections. This difference
 “ arises not from the nature of the thing, or the matter of those
 “ writings, but from our opinion of the credit and authority of
 “ the writer, as of one divinely inspired. And this indeed we
 “ freely allow to him, nor are we disputing on this occasion,
 “ about the authority of the writer, but about the view and in-
 “ tention, with which he wrote, and the character of the style,
 “ which he made use of; whether it was of the popular, or phi-
 “ losophic kind: the popular I say, not the fabulous, though we
 “ might call it also by this name, if we were treating of any other
 “ writer, but those of the Scriptures. As to the case of Fables,
 “ some of them are merely and absolutely fictitious: others are
 “ built on a foundation of fact, but dressed out with additional
 “ and fancifull ornaments. There are likewise certain narrations,
 “ by which truth is conveyed to us, yet not in the particular
 “ points or sentences, but from the sum of the whole narra-
 “ tion, and the general purpose of the Author: and if the narra-
 “ tion now in question should be ranked by any one in this class,
 “ with

Fables

"with due respect had to the name and honor of the writer, I shall not be against it [n]."

It is the distinction
bet. Parable and
Allegory?

We see here, what sort of character this very able and ingenious writer ascribes to *the History of the fall*, when considered abstractedly from the authority of *Moses*. The Bishop on the other hand is extremely shy of declaring his opinion concerning the proper class or species of writing in which it may be ranked, and avoids to give any explicit definition of it, or to tell us, of what kind he takes it to be, whether of the *litteral*, the *parabolical*, the *allegorical*; or the *fabulous*; nay, he speaks of it on all occasions, so obscurely and equivocally, as if he meant to leave himself at liberty to take it in any of them, which may best suit his own system; or in all of them rather in their turns, by applying one kind of it to one part, and a different one to another. He pronounces it, in the first place, to be an *Historical narration*: which leads us to expect nothing from it but the *litteral sense*: yet he informs us, in the next page, how *Moses*, for certain reasons, chose to cloath it in *parables and similitudes*; after the manner of the Eastern writers [o]. Then he returns presently to the letter, and says, *that there were four persons evidently concerned in the story, the man, the woman, the person represented by the serpent, and God*: that the three first were *standing before God, to receive sentence for their disobedience*; that the *judgment was awfull and severe*; the *woman doomed to sorrow in conception*; the *man to sorrow and travel all the days of his life*; and the *ground itself cursed for their sake*---that upon the Serpent also, this curse was pronounced; *upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life*: and *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed, it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel* [p]. Yet after he has sup-

[n] Vid. Thom. Burnetii Theor. Sacr.
& Archæolog. ibid. adjunct. p. 503. Edit.
Amst.

[o] Disc. p. 57.

[p] Page 58, 60, &c.

posed all this to have been literally transacted, in the very manner, in which it is described; he proceeds again, to laugh at the literal sense, as contradictory to common sense; and declares the *language of this Prophecy*, or curse upon the Serpent, *to be in part metaphorical* [q].

This is the whole, which he has thought fit to declare, concerning the stile and nature of the Mosaic account; *that it is Historical, but clothed in parables and similitudes, and in some part metaphorical.* Now what idea any other reader may form, from such a description, I know not; for my part, I can form none: and though he has jumbled *history, parable, similitude, and metaphor*, into the composition of this narrative, it is certain, that, if those terms be taken strictly, it will be difficult to discover any one of them in it; but on the contrary, every thing as plain and literal, as language can make it. *The man, the woman and the Serpent* are declared to be personally standing before God in Paradise; without the least shadow of any *similitude, metaphor, comparison, or allusion* to any other being whatsoever: yet we cannot properly call it a parable; for though a parable be a mere fiction, it is defined to be of such a sort, as must always be probable, or what might possibly be true: nor can it be an history, for though it be a plain description of facts, yet they are all apparently fictitious, and impossible to be performed in the manner, in which they are described. What then, are we to think of it? Why, we may give it either the general name of an *allegory*, by which a different sense is conveyed, than what is signified by words: or we may call it rather an *Apologue* or *moral fable*; the peculiar character of which is, to relate things and events, impossible in their nature: which is evidently the case of the narrative in question.

Apologue

But to return to the point, from which I have digressed. His Lordship having submitted the story to our examination, abstract-

[q] Page 65.

edly from the authority of *Moses*, or as grounded onely on the testimony of any other antient writer, proceeds, like an able Advocate, to lay it before us, in the most advantageous light. He observes, “ that if the man and the woman, who were standing “ before God under the conviction of their guilt, had been left “ to undergo the severity of their sentence, without any source of “ hope or comfort remaining to them, that would have made “ them desperate, and extinguished all sense of religion in them, “ as taking themselves to be utterly rejected by their Maker : “ but that God came down in mercy, as well as judgement, and “ with a purpose, not onely to punish, but to restore man : which “ purpose was signified, by the curse pronounced upon the Serpent, or the Deceiver, and especially by that part, in which it “ is declared, *that the seed of the woman should bruise the Serpent’s “ head.* That it was absolutely necessary, to communicate so “ much hope to them, as might be a rational foundation, for “ their future endeavours to reconcile themselves to God by a better obedience. And it was necessary also to the state of the “ world and the condition of religion, which could not possibly “ have been supported without the communication of such hopes, “ that they could not but conceive these hopes, when they heard “ from the mouth of God, that the Serpent’s victory was not “ complete even over themselves; but that they and their posterity should be inabled to contest his Empire ; and though they “ were to suffer much in the struggle, should finally prevail and “ *bruise his head,* and deliver themselves from his power and dominion [r].”

In this state of the case, the Bishop supposes all the while, that the Devil was the real deceiver, under the borrowed form of the Serpent ; which, though *Adam and Eve* did not then understand, they might however, have some reason to suspect ; *for they had*

found the *Serpent* by experience, to be an enemy to God, and to man; and the great Author of iniquity in the world, who was able to debase the noblest work of the creation: yet, by the curse and punishment inflicted upon him, they saw, that God was still his superior, and consequently, that there was no evil Being, which could rival the power of the Creator: thus the condemnation of the *Serpent*, as his Lordship says, was the maintenance of God's supremacy, and the divine Prophecy, which was declared by it, became a fresh source of hope and comfort, and religion to our first Parents under the misery of their fall.

Prophecy.

Let us now then take a review of the story, agreeably to his own demand, as if it had been told to us by *Sanconiatbo*. And in this way of considering it, the first reflection, which would occur, is, that it was not possible for any mortal, to give an Historical narration of the events therein represented; or to describe the particular manner, order, and time in which, or the materials, out of which this world, and it's principal inhabitant, man, were formed. We should apply presently to such a writer, what was said by God to Job, *Where wast thou, when I laid the foundations of the earth? declare, if thou hast understanding, &c.* [s]. And should think the same of him, which Job confesses of himself, *that he had uttered, what he understood not; things too wonderfull for him, which he knew not* [t]. We should conclude at once, that the whole, which the wisest of men could write on such a subject, must be the mere effect of fancy and invention; or an attempt to inculcate some moral truth, where physical truth was not to be had.

Where wast thou?

It may be said perhaps, that an account of man's fall might have been delivered by *Adam* to his posterity, and transmitted from hand to hand through the succeeding ages, by the pious and faithfull of the antient world. But this will be of no weight with

[s] Job xxxviii. 4.

[t] Job xlii. 3.

Tradition

inquisitive men: who know from all experience, that the testimony of tradition is of all others the most fallacious, and ever found the most fabulous, in proportion, as it is antient. They know, that, in the present state of mankind, how much soever polished by arts and sciences, there is not a single nation, which can trace any probable tradition of it's own origin, or give any satisfactory account of it's history, beyond a few of these later centuries: they would think it therefore ridiculous to imagine, that, after an interval of near three thousand years, a precise account could be given of a personal conference between *God, the man, the woman and the Serpent*, in *paradise*; the situation of which place has never been known to the world, after the most diligent inquiry, to this very day. . Thus from the nature of the story itself, if it had been told to us by any one, but *Moses*, we should readily conclude, that no writer whatsoever could be so sufficiently informed of it, as to be able to give an *historical narration* of it; or could have authority enough, to make it pass for such, with any judicious reader: and we should pronounce it therefore *at once*, to be one of those antient *Apologues* or *Moral Fables*, by which the Sages of the Eastern countries, used to instruct their people in the general principles of religion and morality, and attempt to illustrate the origin and nature of these worldly things.

Moral Fables.

For if we suppose any wise and virtuous man of those early ages, to have projected a scheme, to reform the general corruption and degeneracy of manners, which he observed to prevail in the world, by infusing into his fellow creatures a sense of duty and religion, proper to their nature, and conducive to their happiness, he could not take any method so effectual, as to persuade them in the first place, that this world, and all things in it derived their existence from a Creator, who alone was without beginning or end of days: that the Creator had given a being to man, for the sake of communicating happiness to him, and made him capable of acquiring and preserving it, by his own strength; but that man, deviating from the law of his nature, and the guidance

guidance of his reason, and giving himself up to the rule of his lusts, and appetites, had debased the dignity of his nature; levelled himself, as it were, to the condition of the brutes; incurred the displeasure of His Maker; and rendered himself obnoxious to punishment; without any means of recovering the divine favor, or restoring himself to his original happiness, but by deserting that bestial rule of sensual pleasure, which had beguiled him into a state of guilt and misery.

These are the fundamental points of all religion, and of necessary belief, for the reformation of a depraved world: and these are clearly inculcated, to the level even of all capacities, by the story now before us, if considered in that character, in which it would certainly have been proposed, by every antient writer of the eastern world; that is, as one of those instructive and moral fictions, to which we may give the name of Apologue, or *fable*, or *allegory*, or of any thing rather, than of an *Historical narration*, with which it is utterly incompatible. This, I say, is what we should judge of it, if it had come from *Sanchoiatho*. We could not avoid seeing the intention of the writer, in imagining man to have been formed out of *the dust of the earth*; and the woman, out of *the rib of man*; in placing them, while they continued innocent, in a *Paradise*, stored with every thing proper to support and perpetuate their happiness: we should perceive this paradise, to be nothing else but a fancifull Scene, abounding with fruits, which had no existence in nature, and planted in a part of the East, which no geography could ever mark out upon the face of this Globe: we should see also, that the subtil discourse of the Serpent, which beguiled *Eve*, could mean nothing else but the tempting suggestions of lust and sensual appetite, of which the Serpent was the emblem; and that their expulsion out of paradise pointed out the natural effects of sin and guilt, in depriving man of his happiness, and plunging him into misery, sorrow, and death. Which account of the matter is no other, than what St.

James himself gives of the natural method, by which men are usually

usually beguiled to debase the purity of their nature ; where he says ; *that every man is tempted, when he is drawn away and enticed by his own lust : and that lust, when it has conceived, bringeth forth Sin ; and Sin, when it is accomplished, bringeth forth death [u].*

This way of inculcating a notion of the fall, or lapsed state of man, is perfectly agreeable to the genius of the Eastern writers ; and as the moral of it is plain and obvious, so it is the only way of inculcating it, which mere reason could suggest to any writer. And by the same fable, the Author meant without doubt, to account also after the Eastern fashion, for the abject state of *the Serpentine race, now creeping upon its belly, licking the dust, and in perpetual hostility with man, whose heel it sometimes bites*, while man more frequently finds means *to bruise his head*. For the curse upon the Serpent, instead of containing *any divine prophecy*, seems to carry nothing more in it, according to all rational interpretation, than a fancifull solution of the cause and origin of the present odious nature of that beast, agreeable to the manner of those antient Sages.

But after all ; I freely remit to His Lordship all the advantage, which I might draw from his concession of considering this story abstractedly from the authority of *Moses*. I will grant it to come from *Moses*, and that *Moses* was commissioned by God to write it : yet this makes no difference in the case, because the matter of the story, whether it be inspired or not, is absolutely inconsistent with the character of *an historical narration*, and must ever convince all, who consider it without prejudice, that it is wholly fabulous or allegorical : and that *Moses's* commission was accommodated on this occasion, as it is allowed to have been on many others, to the prevailing taste and customs of the nations around him ; among whom the usual method of instructing or inculcating truths, especially those of a sublime and theological kind, was by fables

[u] James i. 14.

and allegories, which conveyed a summary notion of the doctrine proposed to be taught, by a way the most striking and entertaining to the generality of mankind.

Thus the plantation of a *paradise* for the habitation of man; the *tree of life*, and the *tree of knowledge of good and evil* in the midst of it; the *expulsion of him out of it after his fall*; the *cherubim and flaming sword*, placed as a guard to it; *God coming down to walk in it, in the cool of the day*; *Adam hiding himself among the trees from the sight of God*; the *discourse of the Serpent*; and the *curse pronounced upon him by God, and upon the ground also itself*; must all be considered as a mere Eastern fable, from which no other lesson or doctrine can be inferred, than what I have already intimated; that this world was created by God; and that man was happy in it, as long as he continued innocent, but forfeited his happiness, and became wretched and miserable, as soon as he became a willful and habitual sinner. This, I say, is the whole, which we can rationally collect from the *Mosaic account of the fall*; but to draw divine and literal prophecies out of a mere fable, and to treat it as the *support of all religion in the Antediluvian world, and the foundation of all the prophetic evidence*, which the Christian religion has to depend upon, is more likely to weaken than confirm the authority of Christianity; and deserves rather to be ranked among the dreams of Visionaries and Enthusiasts, than considered, as the suggestion of sober sense and reason.

An Eastern Fable

but no Prophecy.

In conversing formerly on this subject with a certain great Prelate, he said, *that he looked upon the literal and the allegorical interpretation of the account of the fall, to be of equal force and merit, with respect to their use, or application to Christianity.*—I understood him then to mean, what I still take to be the sole meaning of his words, which carries any sense in it; that though the simpler sort of Christians generally interpret this story in its gross and literal sense, while the more knowing and liberal look upon it as a fable or allegory; yet both of them acknowledge the same

end in it; draw the same doctrine from it; and consider that doctrine, whether delivered allegorically or historically, as the foundation of their common religion.

If I should name this Prelate, His Lordship, I am sure, would own his authority to be justly great with all men, and greater still with himself, than with any; yet when he comes to handle the same story, neither *the letter*, nor *the allegory* can satisfy him, nor any other uniform, and consistent rule of explaining it. He cannot allow it to be literal; because the letter is shocking to our reason: nor will he grant it to be *fabulous*; because a fable cannot be the foundation of a prophecy, which his system requires: he contrives therefore, to jumble all the various interpretations of it together, till by the help of that confusion he may shuffle his own sense upon us. And thus a prophecy is cooked up, of which there is not the least intimation in the narrative itself; and which the Author of it, *Moses*, has on no occasion recommended or pointed out to us as such, in any other part of his writings: yet this is affirmed to be *the ground-work and foundation of all the later prophecies*, which have any relation to the Christian religion.

Ground work.

To this Discourse on *prophecy*, His Lordship here adds a summary account also of the use and intent of *sacrifice*; and though the reader perhaps may not readily perceive, what relation the one has to the other, yet in the few paragraphs, that remain, he will presently be taught that there is a close connexion between them; which the Bishop opens to us, by saying; "that the bringing in of prophecy was not the only change in the state of religion, occasioned by the fall. Sacrifice came in at the same time, as appears by the course of the history [w]." This he supposes at once to have been of *divine institution*; though the text gives not the least hint of any such origin; and the learned *Spencer*, who had considered this question as accurately perhaps

Sacrifice.

Spencer

[w] Disc. p. 73.

as any man, expressly rejects it, and maintains, " That the rite of
 " sacrificing did not derive it's birth from any command of God, *not commanded*
 " but from the free will and appointment of man, expressing his
 " gratitude to the Creator, for all the good things, which he had
 " received from him [x].

The Bishop however having thus settled in a few words *the*
divine institution of sacrifice, proceeds to explain the reason, why
Abel's sacrifice was accepted, and Cain's rejected. The text in-
 forms us, that *Abel brought his offering of the firstlings of his flock*
and the fat thereof; Cain of the fruit of the ground: upon which
 he immediately forms these following suppositions: first, that the
 original intent of sacrifice, was to expiate sin: secondly, that with-
 out blood there could be no remission of sin: thirdly, that *Abel's*
 sacrifice was of a bloody kind: fourthly, that *Abel came a petitioner*
for pardon, and brought with him accordingly *the proper atone-*
ment for sin, as God had appointed it; whereas *Cain*, trusting to
 his primogeniture, came proudly, *as wanting no pardon*, and with
 an offering, expressive onely of his thanks and gratitude to God,
 for favors already received; for which reason it was rejected [y].
 Now by the same method of reasoning, and the liberty, which
 His Lordship every where assumes, of supposing whatever pre-
 mises he wants, and taking every thing for granted, which tends
 to confirm his hypothesis, we may prove any doctrine to be true
 or divine, or whatever we please to make of it. *Dr. Lightfoot*
 has shewn us the way, in his comment on this very text; where
 he lays open the mystery of the sentence upon the serpent, as well
 as of the institution of sacrifice, and says; " Christ is here pro-
 " mised, before the man and the woman are censured,---Adam

Cain and Abel.

Lightfoot.

[x] Primo, probare conabor, Abe-
 lem, Noachum, aliosque Mose vetustio-
 res, sponte sua sacrificasse, adeoque sa-
 crificandi ritum non e præcepto aliquo

divino, sed instituto & arbitrio humano
 originem derivasse. De Legib. Hebræor.
 Vol. ii. l. iii. c. iv. § i. p. 767.

[y] Page 75.

“layeth hold on that promise by Faith---and for an outward sign
 “and seal of this faith, and for a farther and more lively expref-
 “sion of the same, God teacheth him the right of sacrifice, to
 “lay Christ dying before his eyes in a visible figure [z].” Yet
 the text itself yields not the least intimation concerning Christ, or
 a redeemer of mankind, nor a single word about the use, intent
 or duty of sacrificing; and the whole, which the narrative itself
 suggests to us, or the learned have collected with any probability
 from the sacrifices of the two brothers, is; that the different
 treatment, which they received from God, flowed from the dif-
 ferent nature, not of the offerings, but of the men: that *Abel*
 came with a sincere heart, and a warm sense of his duty and gra-
 titude to his Maker; *Cain*, with an envious and hypocritical
 heart; harbouring vicious lusts, and projecting malicious de-
 signs [a]. But the Bishop insists, that his account of the matter
 is favored by the text, where God thus expostulates with *Cain*;
If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not
well, sin lieth at thy door: from which, he extorts a sense con-
 formable to his suppositions above mentioned, while the obvious
 and natural sense of the words seems plainly to overthrow them
 all, and to carry the same meaning, as if God had said: “How
 “canst thou be so foolish, as to imagine, that I should be pleased
 “with such offerings, and vain offices of thy duty to me, as these?
 “Does not thy reason teach thee, that as long as thou doest well,
 “thou wilt surely be accepted by me, whether thou sacrificest or
 “not: but if thou continuest to do ill, that the guilt of sin will
 “ever lie upon thee, and the punishment of it be sure to over-
 “take thee; which no sacrifice can atone for; no offering ex-
 “piate.”

[z] Vol. i. p. 692.

[a] *Cain was of that wicked one, and
 slew his brother. Wherefore slew he him?*

*because his own works were evil, and his
 brother's righteous.* 1 John iii. 12.

The divine acceptance of any particular sacrifice under the law was usually signified by a *flame of fire*, issuing miraculously from heaven, and consuming the said sacrifice: and this testimony is supposed by the Jewish Doctors to have been given to the sacrifice of *Abel*: which *Grotius* takes to be probable, and *St. Jerom* also confirms; for *how could Cain know*, says he, *that his brother's sacrifice was accepted and his own rejected, but by this sign, which was given afterwards also to Elias, on Mount Carmel, and to Solomon, in the dedication of the Temple* [b]. But this way of signifying the divine acceptance, was accompanied, as the learned *Fagius* informs us from the Jewish traditions, by this particular circumstance; that in the *cælestial flame*, which consumed the sacrifice, there always appeared the face of a lion: and if this be true, says he, who can doubt of it's being a type of *Christ*, who is that *Lion of the tribe of Judah*, which is shadowed out to us by all those sacrifices, both before the laws and under it [c]. Agreeably to which, *Dr. Lightfoot* again takes notice, “that the faith of *Abel* appeared in the very materials of his sacrifice, it being of slain beasts, and so a representation of the death of *Christ*, for which reason it was fired from heaven, and *Cain's* was not, though his dry ears of corn were materials far more combustible [d].”

Elias Solomon

Fagius.

Here then we discover his Lordship's reason, for tacking this account of sacrifice, to his account of prophecy. The intent of both, it seems, was the same; and the first sacrifice in the world, as well as the first prophecy, was a typical præfiguration of *Christ*: for whether the tradition of *the Lion's face* be true or not, it gave

Typos.

[b] Unde scire poterat Cain, quod fratris munera suscepisset Deus, & sua repudiasset; nisi illa interpretatio vera est, quam *Theodofion* posuit; Et inflamavit Dominus super *Abel*, & super sacrificium ejus: super *Cain* vero & sacri-

ficiū ejus non inflammavit? &c. *Hieron.* Quæst. *Grot.* in *Genes.* Op. tom. ii. p. 511.

[c] Vid. *Fagium* in *Genes.* iv. 4. apud *Critic. Sacr.*

[d] Vol. I. p. 693.

his Lordship at least an useful hint, *of a prophetic sense in the sacrifice of Abel*. And thus after a series of suppositions, deduced through two pages, every one of which has been controverted and rejected by the ablest writers on the subject, he proceeds to tell us, "that his interpretation, if admitted, plainly shews; that the true religion, instituted by God, has been one and the same from the fall of *Adam*, subsisting ever upon the same principles of faith; that is, as he himself explains it, *on a reliance on God's promises and appointments*, or the hopes of a redemption by Christ, signified to our first parents, by the curse pronounced upon the Serpent, and the acceptance of *Abel's* sacrifice. These hopes were at first onely general and obscure, but were gradually opened and unfolded in every age, till better days came, when God thought good to call us into the marvellous light of his Gospel [*e*]."

To this summary account of his scheme, he adds the following short paragraph, with which he concludes this notable discourse;

"This piece of history is all the account we have of the religion of the Antediluvian world: it was proper to be considered, for the relation there is between prophecy and the state of religion in the world; and for this reason also, because *sacrifice* may perhaps be found to be one kind of prophecy, or representation of the one great sacrifice, once offered for the sins of the world."

Such are the curious refinements, which we must receive upon the authority of this Prelate, as the fundamental principles of that faith, on which our religion subsists. Principles, which utterly exclude and throw aside the natural law, or reason of man, as of no use or service to him, from the beginning of the world to this

day, in discerning what is right and wrong, or marking out the chief good and happiness of his nature: and no wonder, that they wage a perpetual war with reason, since they must either suppress reason, or reason will finally destroy them. For instead of recommending a calm and natural way of thinking on subjects, the most important, they tend to fill our heads with fanatical conceits, and enthusiastic fancies; drawing our attention away from the nature of things, and the testimony of plain facts, and applying it to the investigation of mysteries, prophecies, types, shadows, or every thing, which God has thought proper to hide, instead of revealing to us. In short, when men's searches into the scriptures are directed by these principles, the most favorable treatment which can be given to them, is to rank them in the same class with the vain amusements of those simple people, who please themselves with looking up to the heavens, not to contemplate the real beauty, order, and motions of the heavenly bodies, but to spy monsters in the clouds, or the typical figures of mountains, castles, beasts, and men; the creatures not of God, but of their own imagination.

I have now said enough, to give the reader a just notion of the Bishop's celebrated Discourses, concerning *the use and intent of the Scripture prophecies*, considered either singly, and independently on each other, or in that comprehensive scheme and chain of them, which he deduces from *Adam*. But before I dismiss the subject, I must beg the reader to recollect what I have before observed, concerning the use of prophecy, as it was actually taught and practised by the Apostles and Evangelists:

1st, That, in preaching the Gospel to the *Jews*, they constantly applied the prophecies of the Old Testament, *singly and independently on each other*, to all the remarkable circumstances of the life of *Jesus*, as so many decisive proofs of his divine mission.

2dly,

2dly, That, in their search and allegation of those prophecies, *they began always with Moses*, as the first Prophet, who had spoken of Christ, in the delivery of his law to the people.

From these two Observations, it follows, that, whatever difficulties may be charged to the particular applications of prophecies, which are found in the New Testament, yet on the whole, that way of applying them must be esteemed by Christians, as the best, which the case affords; and that the authority of the Gospel, as far as it is grounded on prophecy, rests on those single and independent predictions, which are delivered occasionally here and there, *in the Law and the Prophets*. It must be confessed however, that the Author, against whom the Bishop's Discourses are levelled, has alledged several strong and even unanswerable objections to some of them, which are cited by the Evangelists in proof of the mission of Jesus, as being of too loose and precarious a nature, to build any solid argument upon. This his Lordship seems to allow in his Preface, and intimates, that it was this difficulty, which induced him to quit that field to the Adversary, and to take shelter in his *Antediluvian* scheme.

Was this Freethinker
Collins?

But if this foundation, laid by the Apostles and Evangelists, must be deserted, and their applications of prophecy given up as defenceless, it is certain, that there is no other scheme of it, which can add any real support to the authority of the Gospel. It is our business therefore to take things, as we find them, and treat them agreeably to their nature, neither ascribing a divine character to what is common and natural; nor denying a due reverence to what is sacred and divine. This is what I endeavoured to do many years ago, with regard to this very question; at a time, when it was warmly controverted, and many subtil objections raised upon this article of prophecy, to the disadvantage of the Christian cause; on which occasion, instead of contriving any evasive expedients, or fancifull systems, to elude the force of such objections,

objections, I thought it my duty, to examine seriously and impartially, what solution of them the subject itself, when fairly stated, would supply; and to embrace that opinion, which the evidence of allowed facts would naturally suggest to me. The summ of this inquiry, as it was originally drawn up by me, will probably be the subject of some future treatise, which I shall reserve however, together with the examination of the rest of his Lordship's Discourses and learned Dissertations, to some occasion hereafter of more leisure.

SOME

SOME CURSORY

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON THE

APPENDIX,

O R,

Additional Dissertation.

AFTER I had drawn up the foregoing Examination, and was preparing it for the Press, the Bishop thought proper to publish an *Appendix*, or *Additional Dissertation*, as he calls it, containing a farther inquiry into the *Mosaic account of the Fall*. This is the fifth piece of the same kind, with which he has successively enlarged and enriched these favorite Discourses; *bringing forth to us, out of his treasure, like the good householder in the Gospel, things new and old*. To this *Appendix* he has prefixed a short Advertisement, in which he acquaints us, "that it was drawn up some years ago, and intended, as an Examination of the objections of a particular Author, who is since dead; for which reason, he has now considered the objections, not as His, but as common to all, who call in question, or are offended with the History of the Fall, as it stands recorded by *Moses*."

Thus he artfully engages *Moses* in a quarrel, which is purely his own; and prepossesses people with a notion, that he is defending his character and authority against adversaries, who are laboring

ing to deprefs them ; whereas the objections generally propofed on this fubject, and thefe efpecially, now offered by myfelf, are not levelled againft the writings or testimony of *Mofes*, but againft the abfurd conceits and interpretations, which fuperftition, falfe zeal, or the arts of political Churchmen have in all ages been ingrafting upon them, and impofing upon all Chriftians as the fundamental principles of their religion.

I have already declared my opinion very freely on the *Mofaic account of the Fall*, and obferved, that, by confidering it as a moral Fable, we get rid of every difficulty, render it clear and confiftent, as well as adequate to every ufe, which Chriftianity can require from it : and, on the contrary, that the hiftorical fenfe cannot be defended, but by a feries of fuppoftions, wholly arbitrary and precarious, void of all fupport from the text, and evidently condemned by our reafon.

This, I fay, I have clearly fhewn in the courfe of the preceding examination, and there cannot be a ftronger confirmation of it, than what his Lordfhip has given us in this very Appendix, by letting us fee, that a perfon of his great parts and learning, after twenty-five years fpent, in confidering, revifing, and explaining his hiftorical fcheme, has nothing after all to produce, as his laft thoughts upon it, but a perplexed, hypotheticalal, inconfiftent piece of fophiftry ; which will be intelligible onely to a few, incapable of convincing any, and fure to difguft any rational inquirer. The truth of which I fhall exemplify, by a fpecimen or two of his manner of treating fome of the capital points, which he profefles to exp lane and confirm in this additional performance.

His Lordfhip begins by obferving, that the main difficulty of the queftion confifts in determining, *what we are to underftand by the Serpent, who is represented by Mofes, as the Temptor of Eve.* Yet before he has advanced one page farther, he concludes, *that a real and natural Serpent had part in this tranfaction*, for thefe

two reasons; first, because he is said *to be more subtil than any beast of the field, which implies him to have been of the same class with those beasts*; 2dly, because *the curse denounced against him, is adapted to the condition of a natural Serpent, and of no other being* [a].

Thus far he adheres to the letter of the text; which, as all will allow, suggests to us no other notion, than that of a real Serpent. But though the same text ascribes the use of reason and speech to the Serpent, as faculties belonging to his nature, and though *Moses*, as the Bishop affirms, *relates this fact as an historian* [b], yet in the very next step, he utterly deserts the text, and in flat contradiction to his Historian, declares it *impossible, that a natural Serpent could reason and talk in that manner which Moses has related* [c].

But since the curse pronounced against the Serpent is grounded on the reality of the dialogue, which he is said to have held with *Eve*, and is adapted, as he says, to the condition *of a natural Serpent, and of no other being*: This reflection alone might have been sufficient, one would think, to have staggered his Lordship, and checked his zeal for an hypothesis, which assigns the whole punishment to one being, yet charges the whole crime to another. But notwithstanding this manifest absurdity, he proceeds to confirm it, by many grave and weighty arguments, which he introduces thus;

“ This Serpent, says he, talks and reasons, not upon such trivial things, of which we may suppose the beasts of the field (if they have any reason) to have some notion: but he reasons upon the nature of God and of man; upon the knowledge of good and evil; upon the nature and tendency of the law given to man. He looks back and reflects upon the policy, in which

[a] Append. p. 1, 2.

[b] P. 3.

[c] P. 3, 11.

“ that

“ that law was founded, and the art of the Governor, in keeping
“ his subjects in ignorance and blind obedience. He looks for-
“ ward and foretells the happy consequences of throwing off this
“ yoke, and persuades the woman, that she and her husband
“ should be as Gods, if they could have the courage to break
“ through the restraint of this iniquitous law.”—After which
pompous display of the great and important subjects, which are
treated of in this dialogue, he comes upon us again with his old
insulting quæstions.

“ What think you now? are these the properties of a mere
“ brute creature? Or is there any instance of an author, who ever
“ seriously introduced the beasts of the field, thus reasoning and
“ thus discoursing [d]?”

To the first of these quæstions, every one will readily answer, that speech and reason, are not the properties of a brute creature. Yet this very answer, which his Lordship expects from us, and in which he seems to triumph, instead of confirming his hypothesis, will ever be fatal to it with all men of sense, and convince them at once, that the story of *a talking Serpent*, can be nothing else but a fable. Nor will the answer to the second quæstion be of any more service to him; since it is certain, that there never was a writer of fables, either ancient or modern, who introduced the beasts of the field, as the speakers, but heintroduced them in the same manner, and made them speak indifferently on all subjects, serious or jocular, high or low, trivial or important, which he himself was acquainted with, or had occasion to inculcate.

But it is curious to observe, that while *Moses relating this fact as an Historian*, assigns the *natural subtilty of the Serpent*, as the sole ground and reason of his success in tempting *Eve*; the Bishop,

on the contrary, alledges that very subtilty, with which she was tempted, as a proof that the Serpent could not be the temptor. And thus he goes on, sometimes sticking close to the text, and sometimes contradicting it, till he brings us to what he calls *it's true import and meaning*, which he summs up in two or three short conclusions; first, *that the Temptor must be a rational Being, because he reasons with Eve*; secondly, *a wicked Being, because he acts in opposition to the Creator*. And from these two he draws the capital conclusion of his elaborate work; *that a natural Serpent, managed by the art of the Devil, was the visible agent or instrument in beguiling Eve* [e].

Trees.

In the deduction of this argument, he has given us the pattern of a proper fable, from another part of Scripture, in which *the trees are feigned to have held a general assembly for the choice of a King* [f]: for what purpose he introduced it, is difficult to say; unless it was to shew the difference between the fabulous stile, in which this story of the trees, and the historical, in which the story of the Fall is related. Yet upon comparing the two stories, we shall find, that the same characters, by which his Lordship attempts to mark out the difference between them, are common to them both; and that there is nothing in the stile or matter of the one, but what will prove it equally fabulous, or equally historical with the other. For instance, the Serpent and the trees were both of them equally destitute of speech, yet are both of them affirmed to have discoursed and debated. But the Serpent, it seems, talked and reasoned on sublime points of theology, morality, and civil policy; looked back into the causes, and forward into the consequences of things: and so did the Trees; they reasoned on matters of the highest importance to human society; on the chief good of life; the sweetness of a private condition, preferable to the splendor of administering public affairs; and on the

[e] P. 9.

[f] P. 5.

miseries of living under the tyranny of an unworthy and ill-chosen Prince [g].

But *Serpents*, he tells us, *under the same management of the Devil, had often been known to talk on other occasions, as well as at the Fall, and to give out oracles to the Heathens, in several different nations.* And so the *Trees* again were known as certainly, to speak and give out oracles to the ancients, as the *Serpents*: witness the *Oak of Dodona*, so celebrated for it's oracle, by all the writers of antiquity; with several other *speaking Oaks*, to which religious honours, vows, and offerings have been paid on the same account, both in Pagan and Christian countries [b]. Wherefore, as in the story of speaking Trees, the incredibility of the thing obliges us to take it for a Fable, so the same incredibility must surely have the same effect, in the stories of speaking Serpents.

Oak of Dodona

The Bishop however goes on to confirm his opinion, by shewing, "that wicked spirits and wicked men are sometimes called in Scripture, *Serpents, Scorpions, Adders, and the Temptor himself, the Great Dragon and old Serpent*;" and he affirms it to be well known, as an undoubted fact, that since this first deceit upon *Eve*, the Devil has played the same trick over again a thousand times under the form of a Serpent, in the eastern country, and *Egypt, Greece and Rome*: and that, in *America* also, the image of a Great Dragon, as *Garcilasco del Vigo* relates, was found in one of their Temples, as the Deity of the country, and the object of their religious worship [i]." And this sort of proof, grounded on a variety of fancifull conjectures, forced constructions, and incredible facts, is the summ, of what he has been able to collect, for the support of his fundamental point, *that the Devil was the Temptor of Eve*.

Great Dragon.

I shall now add a short sketch of his manner of repelling the

[g] Judges ix. 8. [b] See my Letter from *Rome*, p. 97. [i] P. 25, 26, &c.

the objections, which reason is apt to suggest, in contradiction to his hypothesis. Some writers have imagined the story of the Fall to be of the fabulous kind, because the curse denounced against the Serpent, *of creeping upon his belly, licking the dust, and being hostile and odious to man*, would otherwise seem impertinent, since it inflicted nothing, but what flowed from the original nature and formation of the animal. This his Lordship treats with much contempt, and says; "How do you know this? who could inform you of it? If you argue from a fact, of which you have neither knowledge, nor information, what support have you? Will you say, that God cannot alter the state or condition of any Being, in any respect from what it was originally?--- And if we consider rightly, nature is nothing but the law and appointment of God, who is master of his own laws, and can change them whenever he pleases, and nature will follow and obey his commands [k].

He supposes the nature both of the serpent and of the woman to have been changed by the Fall, from what it was before: but how that change was effected, *I neither know*, says he, *nor shall inquire* [l]: in which indeed he is in the right, for to *inquire* into it, would be troublesome and fruitless; whereas to *suppose* it, is easy and applicable to his purpose on all occasions. And to say the truth, in the present supposition, he does but follow the example of several other Bishops and Commentators, who, to evade the same difficulty, have recurred to the same expedient, of supposing *the Serpent to have been originally of an erect and beautiful shape, which appeared so glorious to Eve, that she took him to be an Angel, or Minister of heaven* [m]: from which upright and

[k] P. 19, 20.

[l] P. 20.

[m] The woman, says Dr. Lightfoot, thinking it had been a good Angel, entreats into communication with the Devil. Observation on Genes. c. iii, Vol. I. p. 692.

Nor doth it seem at all credible to me, that she could have been otherwise deceived, but by some creature, which appeared so gloriously, that she took it for an heavenly minister. See Bishop Patrick, Comment on Gen. iii. 1.

amiable form he was doomed for his offence to creep upon his belly.

I shall not trouble myself, to expose the vanity of this hypothetical way of reasoning, which, if allowed to have any force, would confound all reasoning whatsoever: my view, in the recital of it, is to shew onely, how inconsistent His Lordship is with himself, in the application of it: the common fate of all, who undertake the defence of systems, in opposition to nature and reason. For instance; when it was his business to prove, *that the Devil was the real Tempter of Eve*, he declares it impossible and contrary to nature, that a mere Serpent should talk and reason: yet when the nature of the same Serpent is alledged in contradiction to his scheme, then nature is nothing with him but an empty name, from which no certain inference can be drawn; as being not onely variable, but often actually varied at the pleasure of it's author: which very reasoning, as it is applied by him to refute an objection, invalidates every thing, which he had been urging for the confirmation of his main argument.

For let us ask him in his own words; how can you know that the Serpent could not speak? who could inform you of it? If you argue from nature, nature is nothing but the appointment of God, who may change it at pleasure, and has often done so in many cases. It is as easy to suppose, that the Serpent might talk before the Fall, as that he might walk erect before the Fall; since the same reasoning has certainly the same force in the one case, as in the other. And in truth, if any alteration was really made at that time in it's nature, it is more reasonable to believe, that it was made by depriving it of speech, than by any change of it's external form: because the text expressly ascribes to it the use of speech, yet gives not the least hint of it's having any different form or bodily shape, than what it now enjoys.

But though his Lordship, when it served his turn, declared it impossible, for serpents to speak, yet it seems to be his private opinion, that they were indued originally with that faculty, but lost it again at the Fall. This we may collect from the example produced by him to shew, how such a change might be made in the nature of men or other animals, yet no body be able to tell in what manner it was wrought. “When Zacharias, says he, *Father of John the Baptist*, was stricken dumb instantaneously, can you tell what change was made in his Organs of speech, or how this alteration was effected? But suppose, that the same change had been made universally, would not the world have been speechless? And can you doubt, whether the same power could do this in every man’s case, which was done in the case of *Zacharias*? and would not this have been a curse upon man, as fatal and extensive as the *curse of the Fall was to the woman, or to the serpent*, and as contrary to what we call the course of Nature, and as hard to be accounted for *n*?”

Now if nothing more be meant by this series of questions, than what the obvious sense of them seems to import; that *God, who struck one man dumb, might have struck all men dumb, if he had pleased, at the same time; and if he had done so, that all the world would then have been speechless*; it is wholly trifling and of no service to his avowed argument: wherefore his view probably in these questions was, to suggest a tacit inference, which can hardly escape an attentive reader, that as *Zacharias* was struck dumb, so likewise was the *Serpent*; but with this difference; that the punishment of *Zacharias* was restrained to one individual, whereas that of the *Serpent* was made universal; and the curse, though pronounced, singly upon one animal, was extended, as in the case also of *Eve*, to the whole species; which from that moment became speechless.

He makes an attempt on his way, to confirm his exposition of this story, by the authority of our Lord : and if he could do this, to the satisfaction of men of sense, it would silence at once the scruples of all Christian inquirers. But his way of proving it is no other, than what we have already seen on many occasions ; not by any direct or explicit testimonies of scripture, but by subtil refinements, or forced interpretations of the texts referred to.--- For instance ; “ it appears plainly, says he, that our Saviour understood the Devil to be the Temptor, from the parable of the “ tares and his exposition of it [o].” Now a declaration so peremptory would lead us to conclude, that some reference or allusion was certainly made by this Parable to the temptation of *Eve* and the manner in which it was effected : yet any other person, who had not the same hypothesis in his head, might read it over a thousand times, without ever thinking once of the story of the Fall, or discovering the least connection or relation whatsoever between them.

The parable of the tares, as well as every other parable recited in the same chapter, is interpreted by our Lord himself, to denote the fate and success of the promulgation of his Gospel, which is commonly called by him, *the kingdom of heaven, or the word of the kingdom* : those, who hear and receive this word, are *the good seed, or the children of the kingdom* ; those, who condemn and reject it, are the tares, or *the children of the wicked one* ; by whom they are incited and encouraged to oppose the progress of the Gospel [p]. Now what relation has this to the story of the Fall, or how does it teach us that the Devil, in the form of a Serpent, was the Temptor of *Eve* ? Why not at all. Yet by an art peculiar to himself we shall see him presently drawing out of the text, what no body else had ever dreamt of, or thought possible

Tares.

[o] Page 21.

[p] Matth. xiii. 24, 25.

to be found there : in order to which, he amuses us by the following harangue upon it.

“ Our Saviour, says he, explains this parable, and applies it to
 “ God’s government of the world---the field is the world, the
 “ good seed are the children of the kingdom, the Tares are the
 “ children of the wicked one.---Here then our Saviour had the
 “ great point before him ; How came evil into the world ? All
 “ the answer he gives to it is, the enemy, that sowed the tares,
 “ is the Devil. Could our Lord be ignorant of the history of
 “ the Fall, and of the first introduction of evil into the world ?
 “ Or could he forget it, when he was accounting for the work of
 “ Providence, with respect to the beginning of evil, that every
 “ where abounded ? He does not indeed enter into the curious
 “ questions, relating to the origin of evil, but he tells us, who
 “ first brought it in, the Devil. The Devil therefore was that
 “ very Serpent, who tempted *Eve* ; that enemy who sowed these
 “ tares, which have overspread the world [q].”

Here we see how many great and important doctrines have lain dormant in this Parable, for seventeen hundred years past, and would have lain so probably for ever, if his Lordship’s penetration had not discovered them ; who has now at last shewn ; *that the origin of evil*, of all questions, as he says, *the most abstruse, and the farthest removed from our reach*, is expressly taught and explained by it : that the first prophecy also in the world, delivered to our first Parents, in the curse upon the Serpent, is clearly made out and exemplified by it ; and Christianity, in short, proved to be *as old as the creation*.

But how much soever he may plume himself upon this discovery, it is certain, that nothing was ever more strained, confused and foreign to the real sense of the Parable, than the exposition,

which he has given to it. He first supposes our Lord to be here discussing the great point of *the introduction of evil* into the world ; and having laid down this supposition, without any authority from the text, he treats it immediately as an allowed fact, and converts it into an argument : for our Lord, says he, *could not be ignorant of the story of the fall, when he was accounting for the beginning of evil* : from which premises he draws this extraordinary conclusion ; *the Devil therefore was that very Serpent, who tempted Eve.*

Our Lord tells us, as the Bishop affirms, *that the Devil was the first bringer in of Evil* : if so, he not only enters into the question, but goes to the bottom of it at once : Yet we are at a loss all the while, to know, where it is, that our Lord tells us so : for it is certain, that in this Parable, he says not a syllable about it. The whole, which he here intimates, is, that there is a wicked invisible spirit subsisting in the world, who, by the agency of his children, or corrupt seed, makes it his business, to obstruct the progress of the Gospel, and the happiness proposed by it to mankind : but how that *wicked one* was himself introduced, and how he became indued with a nature and power utterly opposite and hostile to the divine nature, is a mystery, not yet revealed to us, either by the Old, or the New Testament.

From the same premises, His Lordship draws another conclusion of the same kind, and says ; “ our Lord in this Parable, had “ undoubtedly also in his view, that part of the Prophecy, delivered by God at the Fall, in these words, *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed ; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* For as our “ Lord has expressly told us, that the enemy, who brought evil “ into the world, was the Devil, he has as clearly, if attended “ to, told us, that the restorer of righteousness was that very “ seed, promised to the woman, who was to bruise the Serpent’s “ head [r].”

[r] Page 23.

E e 2

As

As to the case of the prophecy here referred to, supposed to be mystically couched in the curse upon the Serpent, enough has already been said in the Bishop's Discourses, and the Examination of them : and what His Lordship has here added, in this Appendix, is but a remnant, as it were, of the same flimsy stuff ; a fine-spun web of fantastical whims, and precarious suppositions, worked up together into some resemblance of arguments, whence many surprizing and recondite inferences are occasionally deduced by him ; all which I shall leave for the present to the contemplation of the reader ; who will hardly want a monitor, to point out the ridicule of them ; nor will I make any reflection on a second Prophecy, which he has since discovered and explained here at large with his usual acuteness ; the bare recital of it, with a short sketch of his reasoning upon it, will be sufficient for my purpose.

Dan.

The prophecy is this ; *Dan shall be a Serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the Horse's heels, so that the rider shall fall backwards. I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord !* This second prophecy is so like, he says, to the first, in language and idea, that comparing the two together, may reflect light upon each. And in order to strike out this light, he tells us, " that the house of *Dan* were the Temptors and ringleaders in idolatry to all the other tribes of *Israel* : wherefore supposing this to be the view before the prophet's eyes, he then shews, that, as the first Temptor deserved the name of a Serpent for drawing *Adam* and *Eve* from their obedience to the original law, so this second Temptor and seducer, *Dan*, deserved no less to be called a Serpent and biter of heels, for drawing the people of *Israel* from their obedience to the divine law : for if the mischiefs brought upon the race of *Adam*, were justly represented by the Serpent's bruising the heel of the woman's seed, did not the mischiefs brought upon the house of *Israel* by the idolatry of *Dan*, deserve to be

" painted

“painted in colours of the same kind [s]?” Then as to the hope of salvation intimated in this prophecy, “it manifestly relates, he says, to the mischief wrought by a Serpent biting the heels,” so that by being considered in this light, it affords a very ancient evidence of the expectation of a deliverance from the curse of the Fall. And so the similitude and relation between the two prophecies being thus demonstrated, “and all these circumstances laid together, he declares it impossible, to imagine any salvation, that can answer to these ideas, but that onely, which arose from the promise, that the *seed of the woman should bruise the Serpent's head* [t].”

There are many other notable discoveries, and observations, scattered through this Appendix, which I have omitted to take notice of, for fear of being tedious; but lest the reader should think himself too great a sufferer by my indolence, I will entertain him here with one or two, as a specimen of the rest.

His Lordship observes; “that it is the prerogative of the man, *to be the head of the woman*; but this superiority is not conveyed to him by express grant or concession, but the subjection is laid on the woman as a penalty, in the sentence pronounced upon her by God. And it is from this penalty that man's superiority, is left to be collected by us [u].” So that unless we admit his hypothesis, and take the account of the Fall for a real history, this prerogative of man must be deemed a mere tyranny and usurpation, as having no other plea or title, but from that punishment inflicted on *Eve*, by which she was made subject to the rule of her husband. Yet His Lordship might have seen, that the same history, whether taken literally or allegorically, had given a clear superiority to man, even previous to the Fall, by the priority of his creation, and the formation of the woman out of his rib; on which *St. Paul* particularly grounds it, where he

Head of the Woman.

[s] Page 42, &c.

[t] Page 47.

[u] Page 41, 42.

says,

says, *that the head of the woman is man; for the man was not of the woman, but the woman of the man: neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man* [w].

But man has still a surer title to this prerogative, than either *Moses*, or the Apostles could give him, derived from his very nature, and confirmed by the experience of all mankind: I mean that superiority of force, and bodily strength, which distinguishes the male, from the female sex, and necessarily conveys a superiority of power to the stronger over the weaker. And thus this groundless conceit, instead of confirming the Bishop's exposition, tends rather to confute it, and shews, from this very circumstance, that the account of the Fall could not be an historical description of a real fact, but the mere effect of fancy, attempting, by way of fable or allegory, to represent the unhappy state to which the man and the woman had reduced themselves by a wilful defection from the original purity, and innocence of their nature.

There is another observation still remaining, on the subject of that first prophecy, said to be contained in the sentence upon the serpent, with which His Lordship concludes his Appendix, and I also shall put an end to my present Animadversions. He observes, "that the language of that prophecy, representing the victory of "the woman's seed, *by bruising the Serpent's head*, and the known "use and application of it in Scripture to the promised seed, will "help us to account for one of the arts, made use of by the "Temptor when he made his trial upon our Saviour:" which he illustrates in the following manner.

"The Temptor, says he, plainly wanted to know, whether "*Jesus was the Son of God*, that person expected to come, and with "whom he well knew, what concern he had. In order to know

[w] 1 Cor. xi. 3, 8, 9.

“ this, he tries whether our Lord would own his character, by
 “ assuming the power belonging to it---*if thou be the Son of God,*
 “ *cast thyself down, for it is written, He shall give his Angels*
 “ *charge concerning thee, and in their hands they shall bear thee up,*
 “ *lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.* These words
 “ are taken from the xcist Psalm, ver. 11, 12 : and considered in
 “ themselves contain, in figurative language, a promise of God’s
 “ providence and care over that person to whom they are addressed ;
 “ and might be applied with great propriety to *David* himself, or
 “ to any other good person, specially regarded by God. How came
 “ the Temptor then, to consider these words, as belonging only
 “ to him, who was to *be the Son of God* ? From the words them-
 “ selves he could not collect this ; but there was another character
 “ in the very next verse, and belonging to the same person, which
 “ he could not mistake ; for this person, over whom the Angels
 “ were to have charge, *was to tread upon the Lion and Adder, and*
 “ *the young Lion and the Dragon to trample under his feet.* He
 “ knew by this mark, to whom this whole prophecy belonged ;
 “ he could not forget, who was to bruise his head, and though
 “ he avoided to ask our Lord directly, whether he was that per-
 “ son, who was to bruise his head, yet he did the same thing
 “ covertly, by trying whether another part of the same prophecy
 “ would be owned by him, as belonging to himself [x].”

Tread upon the Adder

Here again we are amused with a fine story, in which his
 Lordship, by a wonderful penetration, lays open to our view the
 craft and hidden wiles of Satan, by which he hoped to intrap our
 Lord, and draw the secret of his Messiahship out of him : where,
 though he treats the temptation of Christ, in the same manner
 with the temptation of *Eve*, as a fact historically related ; yet the
 Learned have ever been puzzled how to interpret it, and there
 were some, as *Grotius* intimates [y], *both of the ancients and moderns,*
who took the whole to have been represented onely to the fancy of Christ,

[x] P. 51.

existimet, quæ hic narrantur, Christo

[y] Quæ omnia eo libentius noto, ne non vere, sed καὶ φαντασίᾳ accidisse.
 quis cum veteribus quibusdam, novisque Grot. in Matt. iv. 1.

as in a dream, or vision. Be that however as it will, I have no design to dispute it's reality, but shall only ask his Lordship, how he can think it probable, that the Devil, who appears, from this very story, to have been perfectly acquainted with the writings of the Old Testament, could be ignorant of the character of *Jesus*, whose person was marked out so evidently, through a long succession of ages, by *Moses and all the Prophets*, that many of the Jews were able to discover and acknowledge him, as soon almost as he appeared? *Dr. Lightfoot*, in his comment on this same story, says, *since the Devil was always a most impudent Spirit, he now takes upon him a more hardened boldness than ever; even of waging war with him, whom he knows to be the Son of God [z].*

But how probable soever his Lordship may take his conceit of *Satan's ignorance* to be, it happens very unluckily for him, that it is utterly confuted by the repeated testimonies of the Evangelists; who, in several different places, expressly affirm, that the Devils, whom *Jesus* every where cast out, used to profess, and proclaim aloud their knowledge of him, *as the Messiah or Son of God*, sent on purpose to destroy them and their works. Their constant cry was; *What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? we know thee, who thou art: the Son of God most high, or the Holy one of God [a].* So that *Jesus*, as we are likewise told, would not suffer them to speak on some occasions, because *they knew him to be the Christ [b].* How is it credible then, that, when every inferior Devil; and even the whole *Legion* of them, whom *Jesus* cast out at once, should all know his true character, yet Satan himself, the Prince and Leader of them all, should alone be ignorant of it and unable to discover him; especially, when *Jesus* had been openly declared to be *the Son of God* by a miraculous voice from heaven, immediately before the time of this very temptation [c]?

In the last paragraph of this Appendix, to which we are now

[z] Vol. II. p. 129. in Matt. iv. 1.

[a] Mark i. 24.

[b] Luke iv. 41.

[c] Mark i. 11.

arrived, his Lordship puts us in mind, how the first and noxious part of this prophecy at the Fall, is so evidently fulfilled by the dominion of sin and death, through all ages of the world, *as to want no other proof of it's completion.* The heel of the seed of the woman, says he, *has been, and will continue to be sufficiently bruised, till death, the last enemy, shall be destroyed.* But the second and healing part of the same prophecy, which implies a promise of victory by *bruising the Serpent's head*, is not to be accomplished till the day of judgment. Then, says he, *shall the Dragon, that old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, be fast bound, and cast into the lake of fire and brimstone. Then shall the loss of the Fall be repaired, Paradise be restored, and the Tree of life shall yield it's fruit again, and the leaves thereof be for an healing to the nations.*

And thus the benefit of this supposed prophecy seems to evaporate at last into air. It was given, as we have constantly been told by him, to administer comfort to man, under all the evils and distresses, in which his enemy, the Devil, had involved him. Strange comfort, to an inhabitant of this world, which could not be felt or understood, till the world itself should be no more! And a strange sort of victory, which left the Devil still insulting, as the Bishop expresses it, *in all the forms of violence, fraud, iniquity, distempers without number, and miseries too many, too affecting to be described.* A victory which was not to take place, till the enemy had scattered every plague, and wrought every evil upon this earth, which his malice could contrive or his power effect.

It is remarkable also, that after all his Lordship's pains to assert the historical character of the Mosaic account of the Fall, he is carried at last inadvertently and by the very nature of his subject to turn it, as it were, into an allegory; telling us here in the conclusion, that the Paradise, which man had forfeited on earth, would be repaired and restored *to him in heaven*; and *the Tree of life*, which he was not suffered to taste in this world, would yield

it's fruit again in the next, and spread it's leaves for a shelter and healing to all nations.

But since he has referred us after all, for the completion of this prophecy, to the day of judgement ; I shall willingly adjourn all farther disputes about it to the same day. It is that day alone, which can determine the real character, not only of this, but of all other pretended prophecies, inspirations, and revelations of the will of God ; which now chiefly occupy the attention, and constitute the religion of all the nations upon earth. And happy would it be for them all, if dropping those vain contests and wranglings about questions, wholly speculative, fruitless and inexplicable ; and remitting the decision of them to that last and awful day, men would apply their pains and zeal, to promote and inculcate those practical, social and real duties, which our reason and senses prescribe in common to all, as the chief good of our nature ; the foundation of all religion ; the source of all our happiness in this life, and of all our hopes in that which is to come.

A
DISSERTATION

Concerning the

O R I G I N

O F

Printing in England.

S H E W I N G,

That it was first Introduced and Practised by our COUNTRYMAN

WILLIAM CAXTON, at *Westminster* :

And not, as is commonly believed, by a Foreign Printer at *Oxford*.

*Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes ;
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo ;
Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta.*

VIRG.

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A

DISSERTATION

Concerning the

ORIGIN

O F

PRINTING in ENGLAND.

IT was a constant Opinion delivered down by our Historians, That the *Art of Printing was introduced and first practised in England* by WILLIAM CAXTON, a Mercer and Citizen of London; who by his Travels abroad, and a Residence of many years in *Holland, Flanders, and Germany*, in the affairs of Trade, had an opportunity of informing himself of the whole Method and Process of the Art; and by the Encouragement of the Great, and particularly of the Abbot of *Westminster*, first set up a Press in that Abby, and began to print Books soon after the year MCCCCLXXI.

This was the Tradition of our Writers; till a book, which had scarce been observed before the Restoration, was then taken notice of by the Curious, with a Date of it's Impression from *Oxford, anno MCCCCLXVIII*, and was considered immediately as a clear proof and monument of the exercise of Printing in that Univerfity, several years before CAXTON began to deal in it.

The

The Book, which is in our public Library, is a small Volume of forty-one Leaves in Quarto, with this title : *Exposicio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apostolorum ad Papam Laurentium* : and at the end, *Explicit exposicio, &c. Impressa Oxonie, & finita Anno Domini M.CCCC.LXVIII. xvii die Decembris.*

The appearance of this Book has robbed CAXTON of a Glory that he had long possessed, of being the Author of Printing to this Kingdom, and *Oxford* ever since carried the Honour of the first Press. The only difficulty was, to account for the silence of History in an Event so memorable, and the want of any Memorial in the University itself, concerning the Establishment of a new Art amongst them, of such use and benefit to Learning. But this likewise has been cleared up, by the discovery of a Record, which had lain obscure and unknown at *Lambeth-House*, in the Register of the See of *Canterbury*, and gives a Narrative of the whole transaction, drawn up at the very time.

An account of this Record was first published in a thin Quarto Volume, in *English*; with this Title, *The Original and Growth of Printing, collected out of History and the Records of this Kingdom: wherein is also demonstrated, that Printing appertaineth to the Prerogative Royal, and is a Flower of the Crown of England.* By *Richard Atkins, Esq;* London 1664.

It sets forth in short, That as soon as *the Art of Printing* made some noise in Europe, *Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury*, moved *King Henry VI.* to use all possible means to procure it to be brought into England: The King approving the Proposal, dispatched one *Mr. Robert Turnour, an Officer of the Robes*, into *Flanders*, furnished with money for the purpose; who took to his Assistance *WILLIAM CAXTON, a Man of Abilities, and knowledge of the Country*; and these two found means to bribe and entice over into England one *Frederick Coriellis, an Under-workman in the Printing-*

ing-House at Harlem, where John Guttemberg had lately invented the Art, and was then personally at work : which Corfellis was immediately sent down to Oxford under a Guard, to prevent his escape, and to oblige him to the performance of his Contract ; where he produced the Piece above-mentioned, but without any name of Printer. Those who have not the opportunity of consulting Atkins's Book, which is not common, may find the story more at large in Mr. Maittaire's Annals, or Palmer's History of Printing, &c.

From the Authority of this Record, all our later Writers declare *Corfellis* to be the first Printer in England ; Mr. *Anthony Wood*, the learned Mr. *Maittaire*, *Palmer*, and one *Bagford*, an industrious Man, who had published *Proposals for an History of Printing*, and whose manuscript Papers were communicated to me by my worthy and learned Friend Mr. *Baker* : But it is strange that a Piece so fabulous, and carrying such evident marks of Forgery, could impose upon men so knowing and inquisitive.

For *first* ; the Fact is laid quite wrong as to Time ; near the end of *Henry* the Sixth's Reign, in the very heat of the Civil Wars ; when it is not credible that a Prince, struggling for Life as well as his Crown, should have leisure or disposition to attend to a Project that could hardly be thought of, much less executed, in times of such calamity. *The Printer*, it is said, *was graciously received by the King, made one of his sworn Servants, and sent down to Oxford with a Guard, &c.* all which must have passed before the year 1459 : for *Edward IV.* was proclaimed in *London*, in the end of it, according to our computation, on the 4th of *March*, and crowned about the *Midsummer* following [a] ; and yet we have no Fruit of all this Labour and Expence till near ten years after, when the little Book, described above, is supposed to have been published from that Press.

[a] See Caxton's Chronicle.

Secondly ; The Silence of CAXTON concerning a Fact in which he is said to be a principal Actor, is a sufficient Confutation of it : For it was a constant custom with him, in the Prefaces or Conclusions of his Works, to give an historical account of all his Labours and Transactions, as far as they concerned the publishing and printing of Books. And, what is still stronger, in *the Continuation of the Polychronicon*, compiled by himself, and carried down to the end of Henry the Sixth's Reign, he makes no mention of the Expedition in quest of a Printer ; which he could not have omitted, had it been true : whilst in the same Book he takes notice of *the Invention and Beginning of Printing in the City of Mentz* ; which I shall make some use of by and by.

There is a further Circumstance in CAXTON's History, that seems inconsistent with the Record ; for we find him still beyond Sea, about twelve years after the supposed Transaction, [*b*] *learning with great charge and trouble the Art of Printing* ; which he might have done with ease at home, if he had got *Corfellis* into his hands, as the Record imports, so many years before : But he probably learnt it at *Cologn*, where he resided in 1471, [*c*] and whence Books had been first printed with date, the year before.

To the Silence of CAXTON, we may add that of the *Dutch* Writers : for it is very strange, as Mr. *Chevillier* observes, if the story of the Record be true, [*d*] *That Adrian Junius, who has collected all the groundless ones that favour the pretensions of Harlem, should never have heard of it.*

But *thirdly* ; the most direct and internal Proof of its Forgery, is its ascribing *the Origin of Printing to Harlem* ; where John Guttenberg the Inventor, is said to have been personally at work, when

[*b*] Recule of the Histories of *Troye*,
in the end of the 2d and 3d Books.

[*d*] L'Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris, c. i. p. 25.

[*c*] Recule, &c. *ibid.*

Corfellis was brought away, and the Art itself to have been first carried to Mentz by a Brother of one of Guttemberg's Workmen: for it is certain beyond all doubt, that Printing was first invented and propagated from Mentz. CAXTON's Testimony seems alone to be decisive; who, in the *Continuation of the Polychronicon*, [e] says, *About this time (viz. anno 1455.) the craft of empringing was first found in Mogounce in Almayne, &c.* He was abroad in the very Country, and at the time, when the first Project and Thought of it began, and the rudest Essays of it were attempted; where he continued for thirty years, viz. from 1441 to 1471: and, as he was particularly curious and inquisitive after this new Art, of which he was endeavouring to get a perfect Information, he could not be ignorant of the Place where it was first exercised. This confutes what Palmer conjectures, to confirm the Credit of the Record; [f] That the Compiler might take up with the common report, that passed current at the time in Holland, in favour of Harlem; or probably receive it from CAXTON himself: For it does not appear that there was any such report at the time, nor many years after; and CAXTON, we see, was better informed from his own knowledge: and, had Palmer been equally curious, he could not have been ignorant of this testimony of his in the very case.

Besides the Evidence of CAXTON, we have another contemporary Authority, from the *Black Book, or Register of the Garter*, published by Mr. Anstis [g], where, in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VI. anno 1457, it is said, *In this year of our most Pious Kings, the Art of Printing Bookes first began at Mentz, a famous City of Germany.*

Fabian likewise, the Writer of the Chronicle, an Author of good credit, who lived at the same time with CAXTON, though some years younger, says, *This yere (viz. 35th Henry VI.) after the opynyon of dyverse wryters, began in a Citie of Almaine, namyd*

[e] Fol. 433.
ter, vol. ii. p. 161.

[f] Hist. of Printing. Book iii. p. 318.

[g] Hist. of Gar-

Mogunce, the *Crafte of empyrtynge Bokys*, which ſen that tyme hath had wonderful encrease. Theſe three Teſtimonies have not been produced before, that I know of; two of them were communicated to me by Mr. Baker, who of all Men is the moſt able, as well as the moſt willing to give Information in every point of curious and uncommon Hiſtory.

I need not purſue this Queſtion any farther; the Teſtimonies commonly alledged in it, may be ſeen in Mr. *Mattaire*, *Palmer*, &c. I ſhall only obſerve, that we have full and authentic Evidence for the Cauſe of *Mentz*, in an *Edition of Livy* from that place, anno 1518, by [b] *John Scheffer*, the Son of *Peter*, the Partner and Son-in-law of *John Fauſt*: where the Patent of Privilege granted by the Emperor to the Printer; the Prefatory Epistle of *Eraſmus*; the Epistle Dedicatory to the Prince by *Ulrich Hutten*; the Epistle to the Reader of the two Learned Men who had the Care of the Edition; all concur in aſſerting the *Origin of the Art to that City, and the Invention and firſt Exerciſe of it to Fauſt*: And *Eraſmus* particularly, who was a *Dutchman*, would not have decided againſt his own Country, had there been any ground for the Claim, of *Harlem*.

But to return to the *Lambeth Record*: As it was never heard of before the Publication of *Atkins's Book*, ſo it has never ſince been ſeen or produced by any Man; though the Registers of *Canterbury* have on many occaſions been diligently and particularly ſearched for it. They were examined without doubt very carefully by *Archbiſhop Parker*, for the compiling his *Antiquities of the Britiſh Church*; where, in the Life of *Thomas Bouchier*,

[b] D. Vitalis de Furno olim Cardinalis, Archiatri ut Inſignis, ita & peritiſſim. pro conſervanda Sanitate, &c. Moguntia MDXXXI.

Libri medicinalis, ſeu medicamento- rum D. Vitalis de Furno, &c. Finis.

Moguntia apud Ivonem Schoeffer (a cujus proavo Joanne Fauſt, Chalcographice olim in Urbe Moguntiaci primum, nec uſquam alibi inventa, exercitaque eſt) menſe Auguſto, Anno M.D.XXXI.

though he congratulates that Age on the *noble and useful Invention of Printing*, yet he is silent as to the *Introduction of it into England by the Endeavours of that Archbishop*; nay, his giving the Honour of the Invention to *Straßburg*, clearly shews, that he knew nothing of the story of *Corſellis conveyed from Harlem*, and that the Record was not in being in his time. Palmer himself owns, *That it is not to be found there now; for that the late Earl of Pembroke assured him, that he had employed a Person for some time to search for it, but in vain [i].*

On these grounds we may pronounce the Record to be a Forgery; though all the Writers above-mentioned take pains to support its credit, and call it an *Authentic Piece*.

Atkins, who by his manner of writing seems to have been a bold and vain Man, might possibly be the Inventor; for he had an Interest in imposing it upon the World, in order to confirm the Argument of his Book, that *Printing was of the Prerogative Royal*; in opposition to the Company of Stationers, with whom he was engaged in an expensive Suit of Law, in defence of the King's Patents, under which he claimed some exclusive Powers of Printing. For he tells us, [k] *That upon considering the thing, he could not but think that a Publick Person, more eminent than a Mercer, and a Publick Purse must needs be concerned in so Publick a Good: and the more he considered, the more inquisitive he was to find out the Truth.* So that he had formed his Hypothesis before he had found his Record; which he published, he says, *as a Friend to Truth; not to suffer one Man to be intituled to the worthy Achievements of another; and as a Friend to himself, not to lose one of his best Arguments of intituling the King to this Art.* But, if *Atkins* was not himself the Contriver, he was imposed upon at least by some more crafty; who imagined that his Interest in the Cause, and the Warmth that he shewed in prosecuting it,

[i] Hist. of English Printing, p. 314.

[k] See page 3.

would induce him to swallow for genuin, whatever was offered of the kind.

We have now cleared our hands of the Record; but the Book stands firm, as a Monument of the Exercise of Printing in *Oxford* six years older than any Book of CAXTON with Date. The Fact is strong, and what in ordinary cases passes for certain Evidence of the Age of Books; but in this, there are such contrary Facts to balance it, and such Circumstances to turn the Scale, that to speak my mind freely, I take the Date in question to have been falsified originally by the Printer, either by design or mistake, and an x to have been dropt or omitted in the Age of its Impression.

Examples of the kind are common in the History of Printing. I have observed several Dates alter'd very artfully after Publication, to give them the credit of greater Antiquity. They have at *Harlem*, in large Quarto, a Translation into *Dutch* of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, printed anno M.CCCC.XXXV, by *Jacob Bellart*: This they shew to confirm their Claim to the earliest Printing, and deceive the Unskilful. But Mr. *Bagford*, who had seen another Copy with a true [1] Date, discovered the Cheat; by which the L had been erased so cunningly, that it was not easy to perceive it. But besides the Frauds of an After-contrivance, there are many false Dates originally given by the Printers; partly through Design, to raise the Value of their Works, but chiefly through negligence and blunder. There is a Bible at *Ausburg*, of ann. 1449, where the two last Figures are transposed, and should stand thus, 1494: *Chevillier* mentions three more, [m] one at *Paris* of ann. 1443; another at *Lyons*, 1446; a third at *Basel*, 1450; though Printing was not used in any of these places till many years after. *Orlandi* describes three Books with the like Mistake from *Mentz*: And *Jo. Koelboff*, who first printed about the year 1470, at *Cologn*, has dated one of his Books anno M.CCCC.

[1] Mr. *Bagford*'s Papers.

[m] L'Orig. de l'Imprim. de Paris, c. v. p. 76.

with a c omitted; and another, *anno* 1458; which *Palmer* imputes to Design rather than Mistake [n].

But what is most to our Point, is a Book from the famous Printer, *Nicolas Jenson*; of which Mr. *Mattaire* gave the first notice, called *Decor Puellarum*; printed *anno* M.CCCC.LXI. All the other Works of *Jenson* were published from *Venice*, between *ann.* 1470 and 1480; which justly raised a Suspicion, that an x had been dropt from the Date of this, which ought to be advanced ten years forward; since it was not credible, that so great a Master of the Art, who at once invented and perfected it, could lie so many years idle and unemployed. The Suspicion appeared to be well grounded from an *Edition of Tully's Epistles at Venice*, the first Work of another famed Printer, *John de Spira*, *anno* 1469: Who, in the four following Verses, at the end of the Book, claims the Honour of being the *First*, who had printed in that City.

Primus in Adriaca formis impressit aenis
Urbe libros Spirâ genitus de stirpe Johannes.
In reliquis sit quanta, vides, spes, Lector, habenda,
Quum labor hic primus calami superaverit Artem.

It is, I know, the more current Opinion, confirmed by the Testimony of contemporary Writers, that *Jenson was the First Printer at Venice* [o]: But these Verses of *John de Spira*, published at the time, as well as the place, in which they both lived, and in the face of his Rival *Jenson*, without any contradiction from him, seem to have a weight too great to be over-ruled by any foreign Evidence whatsoever.

But whilst I am now writing, an unexpected Instance is fallen into my hands, to the support of my Opinion; an *Inauguration*

[n] Hist. of Printing, p. 179.

p. 36, &c. It. Append. ad Tom. i.

[o] *Mattaire Annal. Typ. Tom. i.*

p. 5, 6.

Speech of the Woodwardian Professor, Mr. Mason, just fresh from our Press, with its Date given ten years earlier than it should have been, by the *omission of an x*, viz. M.DCC.XXIV. and the very Blunder exemplified in the last Piece printed at *Cambridge*, which I suppose to have happened in the first from *Oxford*.

These Instances, with many more that might be collected, shew the Possibility of my Conjecture; and, for the Probability of it, the Book itself affords sufficient Proof: For, not to insist on what is less material, the *Neatness of the Letter, and Regularity of the Page*, &c. above those of CAXTON; it has one mark, that seems to carry the matter beyond probable, and to make it even certain, viz. *The Use of Signatures*, or Letters of the Alphabet placed at the bottom of the Page, to shew the Sequel of the Sheets and Leaves of each Book: an Improvement contrived for the Direction of the Bookbinders; which yet was not practised or invented at the time when this Book is supposed to be printed: for we find *no Signatures* in the Books of *Faust* or *Scheffer at Mentz*; nor in the more improved and beautiful Impressions of *John de Spira*, and *Jenson, at Venice*, till several years later. We have a Book in our Library, that seems to fix the very time of their Invention, at least in *Venice*; the Place where the Art itself received the greatest Improvements: *Baldi lectura super Codic.* &c. printed by *Jo. de Colonia* and *Jo. Manthen de Gherretzem*, anno M.CCCC.LXXIIII. It is a large and fair Volume in Folio, without Signatures, till about the middle of the Book, in which they are first introduced, and so continued forward: which makes it probable, that the first Thought of them was suggested during the time of the Impression: for we have likewise *Lectura Bartholi super Codic.* &c. in two noble and beautiful Volumes in Folio, printed the year before at the same place, by *Vindelin de Spira*, without them: yet from this time forward they are generally found in all the Works of the *Venetian Printers*, and from them propagated to the other Printers of *Europe*. They were used at *Cologne*, anno 1475; at *Paris*, 1476; by CAXTON, not before 1480: but if the

the Discovery had been brought into *England* and practised at *Oxford* twelve years before, it is not probable that he would have printed so long at *Westminster* without them.

Mr. *Palmer* indeed tells us, That *ANTHONY ZAROT* was esteemed the *Inventor of Signatures* [p]; and that they are found in a *Terence* printed by him at *Milan* in the year 1470, in which he first printed. I have not seen that *Terence*, and can only say, that I have observed the want of them in some later Works of this, as well as of other excellent Printers, of the same place. But allowing them to be in the *Terence*, and *ZAROT* the *Inventor*, it confutes the Date of our *Oxford Book*, as effectually, as if they were of later origin at *Venice*; as I had reason to imagine, from the Testimony of all the old Books that I have hitherto met with.

What further confirms my Opinion is, that from the time of the pretended Date of this Book, anno 1468, we have no other Fruit or Production from the Press at *Oxford* for eleven years next following; and it cannot be imagined that a Press, established with so much Pains and Expence, could be suffered to lie so long idle and useless: whereas if my Conjecture be admitted, all the Difficulties that seem insuperable and inconsistent with the supposed Æra of Printing there, will vanish at once. For allowing the Book to have been printed ten years later, ann. 1478; then the Use of Signatures can be no objection; a foreign Printer might import them; *CAXTON* take them up from him; and the Course of Printing and Sequel of Books published from *Oxford* will proceed regularly.

Exposicio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apostolorum. Oxonie

MCCCCCLXXVIII.

1478.

Leonardi Aretini in Aristot. Ethic. Comment.

ib. 1479

Ægidius de Roma, &c. de peccato originali.

ib. 1479

[p] *Palmer's Hist.* p. 180, 54.

Guido.

- Guido de Columna de Historia Trojana, per T. R. ib. 1480
 Alexandri ab Hales, &c. expositio super 3 Librum de Animá,
 per me Theod. Rood. ib. 1481
 Franc. Aretini Oratoris Phalaridis Epistolarum e Græco in La-
 tinum Versio. Hoc opusculum in Alma Universitate Oxoniæ,
 a natali Christiano ducentesima & nonagesima septima Olym-
 piade feliciter impressum est. That is, ann. 1485

[q] Hoc teodoricus Rood quem Collonia misit
 Sanguine Germanus habile físsit [r] opus.
 Atque sibi socius Thomas fuit Anglicus Hunté
 Dii dent ut Venetos exuperare queant.
 Quam Jensen Venetos docuit Vir Gallicus artem
 Ingenio didicit terra Britannia suo.
 Celatos, Veneti, nobis transmittere libros
 Cedite, nos aliis vendimus, O Veneti.
 Que fuerat vobis ars primum nota Latini
 Est eadem nobis ipsa reperta præ[s] [s].
 Quamvis sēctos [s] toto canit orbe Britannos
 Virgilius placet [s] bis lingua Latina tamen.

These are all the Books printed at Oxford before ann. 1500,
 that we have hitherto any certain notice of. I have set down the
Colophon and *Verses* of the last, because they have something cu-

[q] The only Copy of this Book, that I have heard of, is in the possession of the Rev. Mr. *Randolph of Deal*; and the first notice of it was communicated by the Rev. Mr. *Lewis of Mergate*; who, having been informed that I had drawn up this little Dissertation, very kindly offered me the use of his Notes and Papers, that he had collected with great pains, on the *History and Progress of English Printing to the End of Queen Eli-*

sabeth's Reign. From the perusal of which, though I found no reason to make any Alteration of moment in the present Treatise, yet I had a pleasure to observe a perfect Agreement between us, in the chief Points on which my Argument turns, and to find my own Opinion confirmed by the Judgement of so able an Antiquary.

[r] pressit.

[s] premens; sejunctos; placet.

rious and historical in them. I had seen one instance before of the Date of a Book computed by *Olympiads*; *Ausonii Epigrammatum libri, &c.* printed at *Venice*, ann. 1472, with this Designation of the year at the end; *A nativitate Christi ducentesimæ nonagesimæ quintæ Olympiadis anno 11 [a]*. Where the Printer, as in the present Case, follows the common mistake, both of the Ancients and Moderns, of taking the *Olympiad* for a term of five years complete; whereas it really included but four, and was celebrated every fifth; as the *Lustrum* likewise of the *Romans*. In our *Oxford Book* the year of the *Olympiad* is not distinguished, as in that of *Venice*, so that it might possibly be printed somewhat earlier and nearer to the rest in order of time: But as the 7th Verse seems to refer to the Statute of the 1st of Richard III. prohibiting the *Italians* from importing and selling their wares in *England* by retail, &c. excepting *Books written or printed*; which Act passed anno 1483, so it could not be printed before that year. The third Verse retrieves from oblivion the Name of an *English* Printer, *Thomas Hunte*, not mentioned before by any of our *English* Writers, nor discovered in any other Book. But what I take for the most remarkable, and lay the greatest stress upon, is, that in the sixth Verse, the *Art and Use of Printing* is affirmed to have been first set on foot and practised in this *Island* by our own Countrymen: which must consequently have a reference to *CAXTON*; who has no Rival of this Country to dispute the Honour with him. And so we are furnished at last from *Oxford* itself, with a Testimony that overthrows the Date of their own Book.

Theodoric Rood, we see, came from *Cologne*; where *CAXTON* had resided many years, and instructed himself in the Art of Printing, ann. 1471: And being so well acquainted with the Place, and particularly the Printers of it, might probably be the Instrument of bringing over this, or any other Printer, a year or two before (if there really was any such) to be employed at *Oxford*; and the

[u] Mr. Matt. Annal. Typ. p. 98. not. h.

obscure Tradition of this Fact give rise to the Fiction of the Record. But however this be, it seems pretty clear, that CAXTON's being so well known at *Colegn*, and his setting up a Press at home immediately after his return from that place, which could hardly be a Secret to *Rood*, must be the ground of the Compliment paid to our Country, and the very thing referred to in the Verses.

We have one Book more, without the Name of Printer or Place, which, from the Comparison of its Types with those of *Rood*, is judged to be of his Printing, and added to the Catalogue of his Works [b]; viz.

Exposicio ac moralisacio tertij capituli trenorum Iberemie prophete.
Fol. MCCCCLXXXII.

And at the end of the Index ;

Explicit tabula super opus trenorum compilatum per Johann. Latteburij ordinis minorum.

But the Identity of the Letter in different Books, though a probable Argument, is not always a certain one for the Identity of the Press.

Besides this *early Printing at Oxford*, our Library gives us proof of the use of it likewise, about the same time, *in the City of London*, much earlier than our Writers had imagined, with the Names of two, *the first Printers* there, that none of them take notice of; *John Lettou*, and *Will. de Machlinia*. Of the first, we have, *Jacobus de Valencia in Psalterium, &c. excus. in civitate Londoniensi, ad expensas Wilhelmi Wilcock per me Johannem Lettou* MCCCCLXXXI. Fol. Of the second; *Speculum Christiani, &c. and at the end; Ille libellus impressus est in opulentissima civitate Londoniarum per Willelmum de Machlinia, ad instanciam necnon expensas Henrici Urankerbergh mercatoris.* Quarto: without Date, but in a very coarse and Gothic Character, more rude than CAXTON's :

[b] M. Lewis's MSS. Papers.

And from both these Printers in Partnership, we have the *first Edition* of the famous *Littleton's Tenures*; printed at *London*, in a small Folio, without Date; which his great Commentator, the Lord Chief Justice *Coke*, had not seen or heard of: for in the Preface to his Institutes, he says, *That this Work was not published in Print either by Judge Littleton himself, or Richard his Son; and that the first Edition, that he had seen, was printed at Roan in Normandy ad instanciam Richardi Pynson, Printer to King Henry VIII.* We have this Edition also in our Library, but it is undoubtedly later by thirty or forty years than the other we are speaking of; which, as far as we may collect from the time noted above, in which *Job. Lettou* printed, was probably published, or at least put to the Press by the Author himself, who died ann. 1481.

Whilst Printing was thus going forward at *Westminster, Oxford*, and *London*, there was a Press also employed at *St. Albans*, by the Schoolmaster of that place; whose Name has not had the fortune to be transmitted to us, though he is mentioned as a man of merit, and Friend of *CAXTON*. He had drawn up and printed in *English*, a Book of Chronicles, commonly called *Fructus Temporum*, ann. 1483, which I have never been able to meet with: but in a later Edition of it after his death, there is the following Colophon:

Here endyth this present cronycle of England with the frute of tymes, compiled in a booke and emprynted by one sometyme Scholemayster of St. Albons, on whoos soule god have mercy, and newly emprynted at Westmestre by Wynkyn de Worde MCCCCLXXXVII.

It was the same Schoolmaster without doubt, who printed three years before in *Latin*:

Rhetorica [c] nova Fratris Laurentij Gulielmi de Sagona ordinis

[c] In a fair printed Copy of this Book Library, I find no mention of *St. Alban's*, which I have since seen in *Bonnet's Coll.* or place of printing, or any other date,

minorum, compilata in alma Universitate Cantabrigiæ ann. 1478, impressa apud Villam Sti Albani. M.CCCC.LXXX.

This was once in Bishop *More's* Library, being described in the printed Catalogue of his other rare Books [d]; but it is now lost, or stolen from that noble Collection; which, by an example of munificence scarce to be paralleled, was given to our University by his late Majesty King *George*, and will remain a perpetual Monument of the great Mind and publick Spirit of that Prince.

The same Book is mentioned by Mr. *Strype* among those given by Archbishop *Parker* to *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*; but the words, *compilata in Universitate Cantabrigiæ*, have drawn this learned Antiquary into the Mistake of imagining, that it was printed also in that year at our University, and of doing us the Honour of remarking upon it; *So ancient was Printing in Cambridge* [e].

We have one Piece however in our Library from this Press, in a small Folio, and at the end of it the following Advertisement:

There in thys boke afore ar contenynt the bokys of haukyng and bunting with other plesuris dyverse. And also of Coote armuris a nobull werke. And here now endyth the boke of blasfing of armys, translatyt and compylt togedyr at Saynt Albons MCCCCLXXXVI.

After the first Treatise of Hawking and Hunting, &c. is added, *Explicit Dam Juhans Barnes in her boke of hunting*. Tho' her name be subjoined to the first Part only, yet the whole is constantly ascribed to her, and passes for her work. She was of a noble Family, Sister to *Richard Lord Berners* of *Essex*, and Pri-

than that of its compilation at *Cambridge*; with a MS. Note subjoined to the Colophon: *Hic liber excusus Cantabrigie, post 26 annos inventionis*. This

lead Mr. *Strype* into his mistake.

[d] Catal. Libror. Manuscriptor. Angl. Oxon. p. 391.

[e] Life of Archb. *Parker*, p. 519.

orefs of *Sopwell* Nunnery near *St. Albans*: She lived about the Year 1460, and is celebrated by *Leland* and other Writers for her uncommon Learning and Accomplishments, under the Name of *Juliana Berners*.

I shall now return to CAXTON, and state as briefly as I can the positive Evidence that remains of his being *the First Printer of this Kingdom*; for what I have already alledged, is chiefly negative or circumstantial. And here, as I hinted at setting out, all our Writers before the Restoration, who mention the Introduction of the Art amongst us, give him the Credit of it, without any Contradiction or Variation. *Stowe* in his *Survey of London*, speaking of the 37th year of *Henry VI.* or ann. 1458, says, *The noble Science of Printing was about this time found at Magunce by Joh. Guttemberg a Knight; and WILLIAM CAXTON of London Mercer, brought it into England, about the year 1471 and first practised the same in the Abby of Westminster.* *Trussel* gives the same account in the History of *Henry VI.* and *Sir Richard Baker* in his *Chronicle*: and *Mr. Howell* in his *Londinopolis*, describes the place where the Abbot of *Westminster* set up the first Press for CAXTON's use, in the *Almonry* or *Ambry*. But above all, the famous *Job. Leland*, Library-Keeper to *Henry VIII.* who by way of Honour had the Title of *The Antiquary*, and lived near to CAXTON's own time, expressly calls him, *The first Printer of England* [f], and speaks honourably of his Works: And as he had spent some time in *Oxford*, after having first studied and taken a Degree at *Cambridge*, he could hardly be ignorant of the Origin and History of Printing in that University. I cannot forbear adding, for the sake of a Name so celebrated, the more modern Testimony of *Mr. Henry Wharton*, who affirms CAXTON to have been the first that imported the Art of Printing into this Kingdom [g]. On whose Authority, I imagine, the no less celebrated *M. Du Pin* styles him likewise *the first Printer of England* [h].

[f] De scriptorib. Brit. p. 480.

[h] Ecclesiast. Hist. Cent. xiv. p. 71.

[g] Append. ad Cave Hist. liter. Edit. Engl.

To the Attestation of our Historians, who are clear in Favour of CAXTON, and quite silent concerning an earlier Press at Oxford, the Works of CAXTON himself add great Confirmation: the *Rudeness of the Letter*; *Irregularity of the Page*; *want of Signatures*; *initial Letters*, &c. in his first Impressions, give a Prejudice at sight of their being the first Productions of the Art amongst us. But besides these Circumstances, I have taken notice of a Passage in one of his Books [i], that amounts in a manner to a direct Testimony of it. *Thus end I this book, &c. and for as moche as in wrytyng of the same my penne is worn, myn hande weyry, and myn eyen dimmed with overmoche loking on the whit paper—and that age crepeth on me dayly—and also because I have promysid to dyverce gentilmen and to my frendes to addresse to hem as hastily as I myght this sayd book, Therefore I have practysed, and lerned at my grete charge and dispenſe to ordeyne this sayd book in prynte after the maner and forme as ye may here see, and is not wreton with penne and ynke as other bokes ben to thende that every man may have them attones, for all the bookes of this storye named, the recule of the histories of Troyes, thus empryntid as ye here see, were begonne in oon day and also finished in oon day, &c.* Now this is the very *stile* and language of the first Printers, as every body knows, who has been at all conversant with old Books. *Fauſt* and *Scheffer*, the Inventors, set the example in their first Works from *Mentz*; by advertising the Publick at the end of each, *That they were not drawn or written by a Pen (as all Books had been before) but made by a new Art and Invention of Printing, or stamping them by Characters or Types of Metal set in Forms.* In imitation of whom, the succeeding Printers, in most Cities of Europe, where the Art was new, generally gave the like Advertisement; as we may see from *Venice*, *Rome*, *Naples*, *Verona*, *Basil*, *Augsburg*, *Louvain*, &c. just as our CAXTON, in the instance above.

[i] Recule, &c. in the end of the 3d Book.

In *Pliny's Natural History*, printed at *Venice*, we have the following Verses :

*Quem modo tam rarum cupiens vix lector haberet ;
Quique etiam fractus pæne legendus eram :
Restituit Venetis me nuper Spira Johannes ;
Exscripsitque libros ære notante meos.
Fessa manus quondam, moneo, calamusque quiescat :
Namque labor studio cessit & ingenio. M.CCCC.LXVIII.*

In a *Spanish History* of *Rodericus Santius*, printed at *Rome* :

De mandato R.P.D. Roderici Episcopi Palentini Auctoris hujus libri, ego UDALRICUS GALLUS sine calamo aut pennis eund. librum impressi.

At the End of *Cicero's Philippic Orations* :

*Anser Tarpeii custos Jovis, unde, quod alis
Constreperes, Gallus decedit ; Ultor adest
ULDRICUS GALLUS : ne quem poscantur in usum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.
Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno.
Ingenio, haud noceas, omnia vincit homo.*

In *Eusebius's Chronicon*, printed in *Latin* at *Milan* :

*Omnibus ut pateant, tabulis impressit ahenis
Utile Lavania gente Philippus opus.
Hactenus hoc toto rarum fuit orbe volumen,
Quod vix, qui ferret tædia, scriptor erat.
Nunc ope Lavaniæ numerosa volumina nostri
Ære perexiguo qualibet urbe legunt.*

And as this is a strong proof of his being *our First Printer* ; so it is a probable one, that this very Book was *the First* of his printing. I have never seen the *Liber Festialis*, a Book without Date, which.

which Mr. *Palmer* takes for *his first* [k]; but the Reasons assigned for it, seem to agree full as well to the *Recule of the Histories of Troy*: and had he met with this perfect in the end of the third Book, he would probably have been of another mind. *CAXTON had finished the Translation of the two first Books at Cologne, ann. 1471: and having then good leisure, resolved to translate the third at the same place* [l]: in the end of which, we have the passage recited above. Now in his other Books translated, as this was, from the *French*, he commonly marks the precise time of his entering on the Translation; of his finishing it; and of his putting it afterwards into the Press: which used to follow each other with little or no Intermission, and were generally compleated within the compass of a few Months. So that in the present case, after he had finished the Translation, which must be in, or soon after *ann. 1471*, it is not likely that he would delay the Impression longer than was necessary for the preparing his Materials; especially as he was engaged by Promise to his Friends, who seem to have been pressing and in haste, to deliver Copies of it to them as soon as possible.

But as in the Case of the *First Printer*, so in this of his *First Work*, we have a Testimony also from himself in favour of this Book: for I have observed that in the recital of his works, he mentions it *the first* in order, before the *Book of Chesse*, which seems to be a good Argument of its being actually *the first*. *Wban I had—accomplished dyvers werkys and hystorys translated out of frenshe into englyshe at the requeste of certayn lordes ladyes and gentylmen, as the recuyel of the hystoryes of Troye, the book of Chesse, the hystorye of Jason, the hystorye of the mirrour of the World—I have submyssed myself to translate into englyshe the legende of Sayntes, called Legenda aurea in latyn—and Wylyam Erle of Arondel desyred me—and promysed to take a reasonable quantyte of them—sente to me a worshipful gentylman—promysing that my sayd lord should duryng my lyfe geve*

[k] Hist. of Printing, p. 340.

[l] Recule, &c. end of the 2d Book.

and graunt to me a yerely fee, that is to note, a bucke in sommer and a doo in wynter, &c. [m].

All this, added to the common marks of earlier Antiquity, which are more observable in this, than in any other of his Books that I have yet seen, viz. *the Rudeness of the Letter*, the *Incorrectness of the Language*; and the *greater Mixture of French words*, than in his later Pieces; makes me conclude it to be his *first Work*; executed when he came fresh from a long Residence in foreign Parts. Nay, there are some Circumstances to make us believe, that it was actually printed abroad at *Cologne*, where he finished the Translation, and where he had been *practising and learning the Art*: for after the account given above, of his having learnt to print, he immediately adds, *Whiche booke I have presented to my sayd redoubtful lady Margrete, Duchesse of bourgoyne, &c. and she hath well acceptid hit, and largely rewarded me, &c.* which seems to imply his continuance abroad till after the Impression, as well as the Translation of the Book. The Conjecture is much strengthened by another Fact attested of him; That he did really print at *Cologne* the first Edition of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, in *Latin*: which is affirmed by *Wynkyn de Worde*, in an *English* Edition of the same Book, in the following Lines [n]:

*And also of your charyte bear in remembraunce
The soule of William Caxton first printer of this booke,
In latyn tongue at Colyn himself to advaunce,
That every well disposyd man may thereon loke.*

I have never seen, or met with any one, who has seen this *Latin* Edition of *Bartholomæus* by CAXTON [o]. It is certain, that the same

[m] Mattaire Supplem. ad tom. i. An-
nal. p. 440. not. 4.

[n] Matt. Ann. Append. ad tom. i.
p. 31.

[o] There is an Edition of Bartolo-

meus, &c. in Bennet. Coll. of an old
Character; without Signatures, initial
Letters, Date, or place of printing, in
large fol. with a double column in each
page.

Book was printed at *Cologne* by *Jo. Koelbolf*, and the first that appears of his printing, *ann.* 1470 [e], whilst CAXTON was at the place and busying himself in the Art: And if we suppose him to have been the Encourager and Promoter of the Work, or to have furnished the Expence of it, he might possibly on that account be considered at home as the Author of it.

It is now time to make an end, lest I be censured for spending too much pains on an Argument so inconsiderable; where my only view is to set right some little Points of History, that had been falsely or negligently treated by our Writers; to which the Course of my Studies and Employment engaged me to pay some Attention: and above all, to do a piece of Justice to the Memory of our worthy Countryman WILLIAM CAXTON; nor suffer him to be robbed of the Glory so clearly due to him, of having *first imported into this Kingdom* an Art of great Use and Benefit to Mankind: a kind of Merit, that in the sense of all Nations, gives the best Title to True Praise, and the best Claim to be commemorated with Honour to posterity: And it ought to be inscribed on his Monument, what I find declared of another Printer, *Bartholomeus Bottonus of Reggio*; PRIMUS EGO IN PATRIA MODO CHARTAS ÆERE SIGNAVI, ET NOVUS BIBLIOPOLA FUI, &c. [p].

He had been bred very reputably in the way of Trade, and served an Apprenticeship to one *Robert Large*, a Mercer; who after having been Sheriff and Lord Mayor of *London*, died *ann.* 1441, and left by Will, as may be seen in the *Prerogative-Office*, xxiiii Marks to his Apprentice WILLIAM CAXTON: a considerable Legacy in those days, and an early Testimonial of his good Character and Integrity.

From the time of his Master's death, he spent the following

[e] Matt. Append. ad tom. i. p. 296. [p] Ibid. p. 432. in not.

thirty years beyond Sea, in the Business of Merchandise: where, in the year 1464, we find him employed by *Edward IV.* in a publick and honourable Negociation, jointly with one *Richard Whitehill*, Esq; to transact and conclude a Treaty of Commerce between the King and his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom *Flanders* belonged. The Commission styles them, *Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios, & Deputatos speciales*; and gives to both or either of them full Powers to treat, &c. [g].

Whoever turns over his printed Works, must contract a Respect for him, and be convinced that he preserved the same Character through Life of an honest, modest Man; greatly industrious to do good to his Country, to the best of his Abilities, by spreading among the People such Books as he thought useful to Religion and good Manners, which were chiefly translated from the *French*. The Novelty and Usefulness of his Art recommended him to the special notice and favour of the Great; under whose Protection, and at whose Expence, the greatest part of his Works were published. Some of them are addressed to King *Edward* the Fourth; his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*; and their Sister the Dutchess of *Burgundy*; in whose Service and Pay he lived many years, before he began to print; as he oft acknowledges with great Gratitude. He printed likewise for the Use, and by the express Order of *Henry* the Seventh; his Son Prince *Arthur*; and many of the principal Nobility and Gentry of that Age: All which confirms the Notion of his being *the First Printer*; for he would hardly have been so much caressed and employed, had there been an earlier and abler Artift all the while at *Oxford*, who yet had no Employment at all for the space of eleven years.

It has been generally asserted and believed, that all his Books were printed in the Abby of *Westminster*; yet we have no assurance

[g] Rymer Fœd. tom. xi. p. 536. Item Matt. Ann. Typ. Append. ad tom. i. p. 33.

of it from himself, nor any mention of the Place before *ann.* 1477: so that he had been printing several years, without telling us where. There is one mistake however, worth the correcting, that the Writers have universally fallen into, and taken up from each other; That *John Islip* was the Abbot who first encouraged the Art, and entertained the Artist in his house: Whereas I find upon inquiry, that he was not made Abbot till four years after CAXTON's death; and that *Thomas Milling* was Abbot *ann.* 1470, made Bishop of *Hereford* a few years after, and probably held the Abby in *Commendam*, till the year 1485, in which *John Esney* next succeeded: So that *Milling*, who was reputed a great Scholar, must have been the generous Friend and Patron of CAXTON, who gave that liberal reception to an Art so beneficial to Learning [r].

This shews how unsafe it is to trust to common History, and how necessary to recur to original Testimonies, where we would know the state of Facts with exactness. Mr. *Echard*, at the end of *Edward* the Fourth's Reign, among the Learned of that Age, mentions WILLIAM CAXTON as a *Writer of English History*; but seems to doubt whether he was the same with the Printer of that Name. Had he ever looked into CAXTON's Books, the doubt had been cleared; or had he consulted his *Chronicle of England*, which it is strange that an *English Historian* could neglect, he would have learnt at least to fix the beginning of that Reign with more exactness, as it is noted above, just two years earlier than he has placed it [s].

There is no clear account left of CAXTON's Age: but he was certainly very old, and probably above fourscore, at the time of his death. In the year 1471 he complained, as we have seen, of the Infirmities of Age creeping upon him, and feebling his body;

[r] *Willis's* Hist. of Mitred Abbies, vol. i. p. 206.

[s] *Hist. of Engl.*

yet he lived twenty-three years after, and pursued his Business with extraordinary Diligence, in the Abby of *Westminster*, till the year 1494, in which he died; not in the year following, as all, who write of him, affirm. This appears from some Verses at the end of a Book, called, *Hilton's Scale of Perfection*, printed in the same year:

*Infynite laud with thankynges many folde
I yelde to God me socouryng wyth his grace
This boke to synyshe whiche that ye bebolde
Scale of perfeccion calde in every place
Whereof th auctor Walter Hilton was
And Wynkyn de Worde this bath sett in print
In William Caxtons bowes so fyll the case,
God rest his soule. In joy ther mot it stynt.*

Inpressus anno salutis MCCCCLXXXIII.

Though he had printed for the use of *Edward IV.* and *Henry VII.* yet I find no ground for the Notion which *Palmer* takes up, that the first Printers, and particularly *CAXTON*, were *sworn Servants and Printers to the Crown*: for *CAXTON*, as far as I have observed, gives not the least hint of any such Character or Title; though it seems to have been instituted not long after his death: for of his two principal Workmen, *Richard Pynson*, and *Wynkin de Worde*, the one was made *Printer to the King*; the other, to the *King's Mother the Lady Margaret*. *Pynson* gives himself the first Title, in the *Imitation of the Life of Christ*, printed by him at the Commandment of the *Lady Margaret*, who had translated the fourth Book of it from the *French*, ann. 1504: and *Wynkin de Worde* assumes the second, in *The seven Penitential Psalms*, expounded by *Bishop Fisher*, and printed ann. 1509.

But there is the Title of a Book given by *Palmer*, that seems to contradict what is here said of *Pynson*, viz. *Psalterium ex mandato*

dato victoriosissimi Angliæ Regis Henrici Septimi, per Gulielmum Fanque, Impressorem Regium, anno M.D.III. when being the only Work that has ever been found of this Printer, makes it probable, that he died in the very year of its Impression, and was succeeded immediately by Richard Pynson: whose use of the same Title so soon after, shews the Writers to be mistaken in this, and several other particulars relating to his History, as well as that of Wynkin de Worde, which it is not my present Business to explain.

A CATALOGUE of Books printed by CAXTON,
which are in the Publick Library at Cambridge.

THE *Game of the Chess*; [a] translatid out of *Frenshe* into *Englisse*—fynyshed the last daye of *Marche*, the yere of our Lord God a thousand foure honder and LXXIIII. Fol. 1474

The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophbres; translated out of *Frenshe* by *Antone Erle of Ryviers*, Lord of *Scales* and of the *Ile of Wyght*, Defendour and Directour of the Siege Apostolique for our holy Fader the Pope in this Royame of *Englond*, uncle and governour to my lord the Prynce of *Wales*, &c. enprynted at *Westmestre* [b]. Fol. 1477

The boke namyd *Cordyal*—whiche treteth of the foure last thinges: deth, judgement, helle, heven. Translated out of *Frenshe* by the noble and vertuouse lord *Anthoine Erle of Ryviers*, &c. delivered to me to be enprynted on the secund of *Feuerer* 1478, and fynyshed on the even of th aununciacion the 24th of *Marche*, XIX of *Edward IV.* Fol. 1479

{ *The Cronicles of Englond*; [c] fynyshed the x of *Juyn*, and enprynted in the Abbey of *Westmestre*. Fol. 1480

{ *A descripcion of Britayne and Irland*; taken oute of the *Policonicron.* Fynyshed XVIII of *August.* 1480

[a] To the right noble, right excellent and virtuous Prince *George Duc of Clarence*, Erle of *Warwick* and of *Salisbury*, grete Chamberlayn of *Englond* and Lieutenant of *Ireland*, eldest brother of King *Edward 4*, &c.---I have put me in devoir to translate a lityll booke late comen into myn handes---in whiche I fynde th auctorites dictes and stories of auncient doctours, philosophres, &c. been recounted and applied unto the

moralite of the publike wele after the game and playe of the Chess.

[b] The Booke was translated out of *Latin* into *French* by *Jehan de Teonville* Provost of *Paris*, and given in *Engliss* by Erle *Ryviers* to be revised and corrected by CAXTON, who added a Chapter of *Socrates's* Sayings against Women.

[c] Compiled by CAXTON, and carried down to 1460. This Booke is commonly taken to be the same, and con-

The ymage or myrrour of the world; translated from the *Frenshe*, [d] and synyshted the viii of *Marche*, the xxi yere of *Kynge Edw. IV.* 1480

Godefrey of Boloyn, or the last siege and conquest of *Iherusalem*; translated out of *Frenshe* in th abbaye of *Westmestre* [e]. *Fol.* 1481

Tullius of old age; and of friendship; with the declamacyon of *P. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Flamyneus* before the Senate, on the question, *Wherein noblesse resteth*; translated out of *Frenshe* [f]. *Fol.* 1481

founded by our Writers with the Chronicle called *Fructus temporum*; but they are different Works, compiled and printed by different Authors, at different times; as will appear by comparing the account given of the latter in the *Dissertation*, p. 13.

[d] It treteth of the World and the wonderful dyvision thereof, in whiche a man resonable may see by the figures therein the situacion and moeving of the firmament and how the unyversal erthe hangeth in the myddle of the same ---translated out of *Latyn* into *Frenshe* 1245, and now rudely out of *Frenshe* into *Englische* by me symple persone *William Caxton* at the request coste and dispense of the honourable and worshipful *Hughe Bryce* Alderman and *Cytezeyn* of *London*, entending to present the same unto the vertuous noble and puissant lord *William* lord *Hastynge*s chamberlayn unto the *Kynge* and his lieutenant of the town of *Calais*---in whiche translacon I knowleche myself symple rude and ignoraunt, wherfor I humbly bysseeche my sayd lord to pardoone me---I began to translate the 2d of *Januaryer* 1480, synyshted viii of *Marche* xxi of the most crysten Kinge

Edw. 4. under the shadowe of whos noble proteccion, &c.

[e] With many histories therein comprised---reduced out of *Frenshe* by me simple person---to th end that every cristen man may be the better encouraged t enterprise warre for the defense of cristendom and to recover the sayd *Cyte*, &c. which book I presente unto the mooste cristen *Kynge Edw. 4.* began the xii of *Marche*, synyshted vii day of *Juyn*---and enprynted xx of *Novembre*, xxi yere of *Edw. 4.*

[f] *Tulle* of old age translated out of *Latin* into *Frenshe* by *Laurence de primo faiso*---and enprynted by me simple person *William Caxton* into *Englische* at the plaisir, solace and reverence of men growing into old age, the xii day of *Aug.* mccccxxx. *TULLIUS DE SENECTUTE* was translated by the ordonaunce and desyre of the noble and auncient knyght Sir *Johan Fastolf* of *Norfolke* Bannerette, lyvyng the age of fourscore yere, exercysing the warrys for the unyversal welfare of both Royames of *Englond* and *Fraunce* for forty yeres, admynystring justice and polytique governaunce under three kynges, *Henry 4.* 5, 6. governour of the duchy of *Angou*,
Poly-

Polycricon; compiled in *Latin* by *Ranulph Higden* Monk of *Chestre*. Translated into *Englishe* by *John Trevisa* vycarye of *Barkeley*, at the request of *Thomas* lord *Barkeley*. Continued from 1357 to 1460, by me simple person *William Caxton*. Ended 2d of *Juyll* xxii of *Edward* IV. a thousand four honderd and foure-score and tweyne. Fol. 1482

The legende of Sayntes, called the Golden legende; translated out of *Frenshe*, and fynished the xx day of *Novemb.* the fyrst yere of kyng *Richard* the thyrd, at *Westmestre* [g]. Fol. 1483

The boke called Caton; [or *Cato's* Precepts in *Latin*, with a Version and Comment in *Englishe*] translated out of *Frenshe*, in th ab-

ſc. *TULLIUS DE AMICICIA*, was translated by the noble famous Erle of *Wurestre* sone and heyer to the lord *Typtoft*, which in his tyme flowred in vertue and cunning, to whom I knewe none lyke emonge the lordes of the temporalite in sciencie and moral vertue---the *Declamacyon* was translated also by the Erle---whiche late pitously lost his lyf.----When I had enprynted the boke of *old age*,---me seemed it accordyng that this sayd boke of *friendship* should follow, bycause there cannot be annexed to old age a better thyng than good and very friendship,---whiche lytil volume I have empyrised to enprynte under the umbre and shadowe of the noble protection of our moost dradde soverayn and moost cristen kyng *Edward* the fourth, to whom I moost humbly byseeche to receyve the sayd book, &c.

[g] We have three Copies of this Book, but all imperfect, both in the beginning and end; so that they give us neither the Title nor the Date: but from the Contents it appears to be the same that is described by Mr. *Maittaire*

under the Title of *La Legende Dorée*, printed 1483. in large Folio, each Page in two Columns. The Catalogue of *CAXTON's* Works given by *Palmer* and *Bagford*, recites two Editions of a Book called *Vitas Patrum*; but they are probably no other than different Editions of the *Golden Legend*, which from a similitude of the Subject they have mistaken for the other Work; which in reality was never published by *CAXTON*; who, after having translated and prepared it for the Press, died before the Impression; which was executed afterwards by *Wynkyn de Worde*, with this Colophon:

Vitas Patrum. The ryht devout and solytary lyfe of the aunyent or olde holy faders hermytes dwelling in the desertes---upon whiche have wryten *St. Jerom*---translated out of *Frenshe* into *Englishe* by *Wyllyam Caxton* of *Westmynstre* late deed, and fynished at the last daye of his lyff---enprynted in the sayd towne of *Westmynstre* by me *Wynkyn de Worde*. 1495.

baye of *W'ghmynstre*, xxiiii of *Decembre*, the first of *Rych. III.* dedicated to the Cyte of *London* [b]. Fol. 1483

The book of th' enseynmentes and techynge that the Knyght of the Toure made to his daughters. Translated out of *Frenshe*. Enprynted the last daye of *Janyver*, the first of *Rich. III.* [i]. Fol. 1483

The Ryall book, or book for a kyng [k]; in whiche ben comprysed the x commandments, the xii artycles of the fayth, the vii dedely synnes, the vii petycions of the *Pater noster*, the yestes of the holy ghoost, the vii vertues, &c. reduced out of *Frenshe* into *Englyshe* at the request of a synguler frende, a mercer of *London*. Fynysht xiiii *Septem.* the second of *Rich. III.* Fol. 1484

The booke of good maners [l]; delyvered to me by a specyall frende of myn a mercer of *London* named *William Praat*; translated out

[b] To the noble auntyent and renommmed Cyte, the Cyte of *London* in *England*, I *William Caxton* Cytezeyn and Conjurne of the same, of the fraternyte and selsauship of mercerye owe of ryght my servyse and good wyll, and of very dute am bounden naturelly to assiste and counceille as ferforth as I can, as to my moder, of whom I have receyved my noureture and lyvynge, and shal praye for the good prosperite and polecye of the same duryng my lyf, &c.

[i] Whiche boke is comen to my handes by the request and desyre of a noble lady which hath brought forth many fayr doughters---and for the ziele and love that she hath to her fayr childrē--- hath desyred me to translate it into *Englyshe*---in whiche werke I synd many good enseynmentis & lernynge by evydent hystories of auctorite and good ensamples for al maner of peple in ge-

nerally, but in especyall for ladyes and gentilwymen doughters to lardes and gentilmen, &c.

[k] Compiled atte requeste of kyng *Phelyp le Bele* of *Fraunce*, 1279. reduced out of *Frenshe* into *Englyshe* by me---atte requeste of a worshipful marchaunt and mercer of *London*---for a specyall book to knowe al vyces, and braunches of them and also al vertues--- whiche for---the right grete substance whiche is comprysed therein may and ought to be called *ryal*---and also bycause that it was made atte request of that ryght noble kyng *Phelyp*.

[l] Compiled by the venerable *Frere Jaques le Graunt* lycencyat in *Theologie* religious of the ordre of *St. Augustin*--- whiche book is of auctorite for as moche as there is nothing sayd therein but for the moost parte it is alledged by scrypture or ellis by sayeng of holy seyntes doctours philosophres.---

of *Frenshe*. Fynyshed the viii of *Juyn*, M.IIIICLXXXVI. first yere of kyng *Harry* the VII. enprynted xi of *Maye* after. Fol.

1487

The doctrinal of sapyncce; ryght utile and prouffyttable to alle crysten men; translated out of *Frenshe* at *Westmester*, and synysbed vii of *May*. W. C. [m]

1489

The boke of the fayt of armes and chyvalrie whiche Christyne of *Pyse* drewe out of *Vegecius de re militari*; which boke being in *Frenshe* was delyvered to me by the moost cristen kyng my soverayn lord, *Hen. vii.* to be translated into *Englishe*, xxiii. of *Jan.* the iiii yere of his reign.---Enprynted xiiii *Juyl* next followyng. Fol.

1489

The boke of Eneydos---made in *Latyn* by that noble Poete and grete clerke *Vyrgyle*;---translated from the *Frenshe* into *Englishe* [prose] xxii *Juyn*, fyfthe of *Hen. vii* [n]. Fol. W. C.

1490

[m] The ryght reverent fader in God *Guy de Roie* by the dyvine myseracion Archebyshop of *Senec* hath doon it to be wretton for the helthe of his soule and of the foules of alle hys people---and in specyall it is made for symple layemen---to stir them up to devotion.---

All our Writers on Printing observe, that *Caxton* distinguished his Impressions by a particular Device, consisting of the initial Letters of his Name, with a cypher between, which they interpret to stand for 745 and to refer to the first year of his Printing 1474: but as far as I can find, he began only to use this Cypher near the end of his Life, and in his latest Works; this Book being the first of this Catalogue, in which I have observed it to be applied, as it generally is in those that he afterwards published.

[n] I praye Mayster *Joh. Skelton* late

created poete laureate in the Univerfite of *Oxenforde* to overfee and correte this boke---for hym I knowe for fufficyent to expowne every dyffyculte that is therin---for he hath late translated the Epyttles of *Tulle* and the boke of *Dydorus Siculus* and dyverse other werkes out of *Latyn*, not in rude and olde langage, but in polyshed and ornate termes craftily, as he that hath redde *Vyrgule*, *Ovide*, *Tullye*, and all the other noble poetes and oratours, to me unknowri---and also he hath redde the ix mules, and understande their muscalle fcyences, and to whom of them eche fcyence is appropred. I fuppofe he hath dronken of *Elicon's* well---whiche boke I prefente unto the hye horn my tocommynge naturell and foverayn lord *Arthur Prynce of Wales*, Duc of *Cornewayll* and Erle of *Chesher* fyrft bygoten

Confessio Amantis. A Poem in English by John Gower. Fol. at Westmestre [o]. 1493

A book containing many godly treatises; translated out of Frensshe [p] Fol. W. C. 1493

The Decades of the ocean; written by Pet. Martyr of Angleria, &c. 1494. Bibliothec. Petroburg.

The works of Chaucer; by William Caxton; 1498. *ibid.*

Books without a Date.

The recuyell or gadryng togeder of the histories of Troye;— translated out of Frensshe [q]. Fol.

sone and heyer unto our most dradde naturall and soverayn lord and most cryn-
sten kyng Henry VII.

[o] Enprynted at Westmestre and fynished the 2d of Septem. the fyrst yere of Kyng Rich. III. MCCCCLXXXIII.— From the inconsistent account of the Date of this Book, it appears, that either an x must have been added by mistake to the year of Impression; or, what I rather take to be the case, this was a second Edition printed x years later than the first, but with the very same *Coleophon*, excepting this change of its Date. The Author was contemporary with Chaucer, and a celebrated Poet and Scholar in that Age.—At the end of his Work there is an Advertisement in Latin to this Effect:

Pray for the Soul of John Gower; for whosoever prays for his Soul, shall mercifully enjoy in the Lord a thousand and five hundred days of pardon, granted in due form by the Church, for each time that he shall so pray.

[p] By a persone that is unperfight in such werke, wherefor he humbly byfeche the learnyd reders wyth pacyens

to correcte it—and of their charyte to pray for the soule of the translatur—the boke treateth fyrst of the glorious passion of our Savyour, and the compascyon that his blefyd moder had thereof; and also wherfore we ought to love our Savyour more than any other thyng.

Also sheweth another treatise moche prouffitable for reformacyon of soules desoyled wyth any of the vii dedely synnes.

Item, Another shewynge the signes of goostly love:

Item, A treatise of the vertues and of the braunches of the appultree whiche is expouned morally.

Also is declared wherby men maye seke the love of our Lord.

And the last treatise spekyth to exhorte the persone to eschewe and have in contempte all evyll thoughtes— whiche boke was lately translated out of Frensshe, 1493, by a right well dysposed persone, for bycause he thoughte it necessary to al devoute peple to rede or here it redde. And also caused the sayd boke to be enprynted.

[q] Translated out of Latyn into Boccius

Boecius de consolacione philosophie; translated into *Englisch* by *Geffrey Chaucer* [r]. Fol.

{ The lyf of the glorious *Vyrgyn and Martyr Saynt Katharyn* of *Senec* [s], with
 { The *Revelacyons* of *Saynt Elyzabeth* the kynges daughter of *Hungarye* [t]. Fol. W. C.

Frensh. by the venerable persone *Rasul le Fevre* preest, and by me indigne and unworthy translated into this rude *Englisch*, by the commandment of my sayd redoubtid lady duches of *Burgone*—whiche werke [of translating] was begonne in *Brugis*, and continued in *Gaunt*, and fynyshed in *Coleyn*, 1471.—

[r] For as moche as the stile of it is harde and difficile to be understonde of simple persones, Therefore the worshipful fader and first foundeur and enbelissher of ornate eloquence in our *Englisch*, I mene *Mayster Geffrey Chaucer*, hath translated it out of *Latyn* into oure usual and moder tongue, following the *Latyn* as neygh as is possible to be understande. Wherein in myne oppynon he hath deserved a perpetuell lawde and thanke of al this noble royaume of *England*.—Thenne for as moche as this sayd boke so translated is rare and not spred ne known as it is digne and worthy, for the erudicion of suche as ben ignoraunt, atte requeste of a singuler frende and gossib of myne, I *William Caxton* have done my devoir tenprynte it in fourme as is here afore made.—And furthermore I desire and require you that of your charite ye wold praye for the soul of the sayd worshipful man *Geff. Chaucer*, first translatur of this sayd boke into *Englisch* and enbelissher in making the

sayd langage ornate and fayr.—

To the end of the Book is added the Epitaph of *Chaucer* in *Latin Verse*, made at the Instance and Cost of *CAXTON*, by *Stephen Surigon* of *Milan*, Poet Laureat. The Book is without Signatures, Date, and Place of Printing, which shews it to be one of his earliest Works.

[s] I purpos by our Lordis mercy—to translate into *Englische*, the *Legende and the blissid lyf of an holy mayde and virgyn*.—This *Legende* compyled a worshipfull clerke *Fryer Reymond* of the ordre of *Saynt Domynic*, doctour of devynyte and confessor of this holy virgyn.—In this translatcion I leve of---al poyntes of devynyte which passeth your understondeyng---and that thou geve full credence to that I shal wryte, the veryte may be prevyd wythout ony feynnyng bi scripures of her confessours---and also the wytnes I purpose to put in at the ende of eche chapytte, as that worshipful Clerke did.—

[t] *Saynt Elyzabeth* aboute the endyng of her lyff, the whiche was 1231, affermyd that she had feyn and herde, as it is above wryten : and she sayde that she hadde so grete certaynte of theym all, that she wolde rather suffre deth thenne to doute ony lytyll part of them that they were not trewe.

Speculum vite Christi; or, the myrroure of the blessed lyf of *Jhesu Christe*; compiled from the *Latin* booke of Dr. Bonaventure de meditatione vite Christi [u]; — together with a shorte treatyce of the hyest and moste worthy Sacramente of Christes blessed body, and the marveylles thereof. *Fol.* W. C.

Directorium Sacerdotum: sive *Ordinale secundum usum Sarum, una cum Defensorio ejusdem Directorij* [x]; item *Tractatus* qui dicitur, *Crede michi* [y]. *Fol.*

[u] Memorandum, quod circa annum Domini 1410, originalis copia hujus libri in Anglicis presentebatur Londoni per compilatorem ejusdem, Reverendissimo in Christo Patri & Domino Thome Arundell Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, ad inspiciendum & debite examinandum antequam fuerat libere communicata. Qui post inspectionem ejusdem per dies aliquot retradens ipsum librum memorato ejusdem libri proprie vocis oraculo in singulis commendavit & approbavit, necnon & auctoritate sua metropolitana utpote catholicum publice communicandum decrevit & mandavit ad fidelium edificationem & hereticorum sive Lollardorum confutationem.

And so for as moche as in the boke ben conteyned dyverse ymagynacyons of *Cristes* lyf, the whiche lyf from the begynnyng in to the endyng eyver blessed and without synne passyng alle the lyves of alle other sayntes, as for a synguler prerogatyve maye be cleped *The blessed lyf of Jhesu Criste*, the whyche also bycause hyt maye not be fully descryved, as the lyves of other sayntes, but in a manere of lykenesse as the ymage of mannes face is shewed in the myrrour, therefore as for a pertynent name so thys booke hyt may skylfully be cle-

ped *The Myrroure of the blessed lyf of Jhesu Criste*.

[x] Ad fin. — Impressum est hoc directorium cum defensorio ejusdem per *William Caxton*, apud Westmonasterium prope London.

[y] *Crede michi* sequentes Articuli ventulati sunt & approbati per canonicos ecclesie Sarum. — Ad fin. — Quia vero in hoc opere non scribitur aliqua regula nisi sit vera secundum ordinale Sarum & bene ventilata, ac peritorum virorum testimonio ac sigillis confirmata. Ideo presens opusculum vocatur *CREDE MICH*, nam qui predictas regulas memoriter tenet vix poterit errare in servicio divino, Deo gratias.

This is the only Book that we have of *CAXTON's* printing in *Latin*; which I have not observed to be mentioned in any Catalogue of his Works. It confutes a Notion that has commonly obtained, that he confined himself to the printing of *English*. Though, besides the present Volume, which is of no small size in Folio, and a *Latin* Edition of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, ascribed to him by *Hyukyn de Worae*, there is a good deal of the *Latin* Text intermixed with some of the Translations

The

The booke of fame; made by *Geffrey Chaucer* [z]. *Fol.*

The Chaſtyſing of Goddes Chyldren; a booke prouffitable for mannes ſoule and right comfortable to the body, and ſpecially in aduerſite. *Fol.*

A booke compoſed of diuerſe ghofly matters; of whiche The fyrſt treatiſe is named *Orologium Sapiencie* [a], ſhewing vii poyn-tes of truelove of everlaſtyne wiſdom. At *Weſtmynſtre*.

The ſeconde ſheweth xii prouffytes of tribulacion [b]. *W. C.*

The thyrde ſheweth the holy rule of Saynt Benet [c]; em-
 printed at *Weſtmynſtre* by deſiryn of certeyn worſhipfull perſones, *Quarto*.

A collection of *Chaucer's Poems* [d]. *Quarto*.

that he publiſhed: as of *Boetius de conſolatione*; *Cato*; the xii *Prouffytes of Tribulacion*; *Speculum vite Criſti*, &c.

[z] Whiche werke as me ſemeth be craftily made, for he towcheth in it ryght grete wyſedom and ſubtyll underſtondyng, and ſo in all his werkeys he excellyth in myn opynyon all other wryters in our *Englyſh*, for he wryteth no voyde wordes, but alle hys matter is full of hye and quyeke ſentence.—To whom ougth to be gyuen laude and preyſyng for hys noble makyng and wrytyng, —for of him alle other have borrowed ſyth and taken.—

[a] That name was gyuen therto as hyt is ſeyde in the proheme of the boke bycauſe that the mater thereof was ſhewyn to hym that wrote hit, as in a viſioun, under the figure and likeneſs of a wonder fayre *Orologe* ſetet and arayed with paſſyng fayre Roſes and wyth Sym-
 bales ſwete ſownynge, &c.—

*Qui legit emendat, preſſorem non repre-
 hendat*

*Willelmum Caxton. Cui deus alta
 iradat.*

[b] A lytiill ſhorte treatyſe that tellyth

how there were vii mayſters aſſembled togydre everyche one asked other what thyng they myghte beſt ſpeke of that myght pleaſe God, and were mooft profitable to the people. And all they were accorded to ſpeke of tribulacion.

[c] A compendious abſtraſte tranſlate into *Engliſhe* out of the holy rule of Saynt Benet for men and wymen of the habyte therof the whiche underſtonde lytiill *Laten* or none, to the entent that they maye oſten rede, execute the hole rewill and the better kepe it than it is, accordyng to the abyte and their ſtreyte profeſſyon, &c.

[d] This Booke is without Signatures, Date, Place, or Name of Printer, and contains the following Pieces:

Stans puer ad menſam; or, Leſſons of Behaviour to the Young.

An holy *Salve regina* in *Englyſh*.

Parvus Catho.

Magnus Catho, in four Books.

Fable of the Chorle and the Birde.

—of the Horſe, the Ghooſe, and the Sheep, &c.

A liſt of proper terms or phraſes, in
 There

There is an Edition of *the Game of Chess*, without date, with wooden Cuts, of *Maur. Johnson, Esq.*

The life and death of king Arthur, called *la mort d' Arthur*, without date or Printer's name, in a large black letter with wooden cuts. *Penes M. J.*

History of Reynard the Foxe; translated from *Dutche* by *William Caxton*, in th' Abbay of *Westmestre*, 1481. *Penes M. J.*

Speaking of beasts, birds, &c.

The Temple of glafs.

Scipio's dream, called *The Parlaiment of birds*; or *Temple of brasse*.

A treatyse whiche *John Stegan* sente unto the lordes and gentilmen of the kinges hows, exortynge them to lose no

tyme in their yougthe.

The good counceyl of *Chaucer*; or, the Book of curtesye.

Annelida and *Arcyte*.

Chaucer's complaint to his purse.

The nuoye of *Chaucer* to *Kynge Henry* the Fourth.

A FULL

A FULL and IMPARTIAL
ACCOUNT

Of all the late

PROCEEDINGS

IN THE

University of CAMBRIDGE

AGAINST

Dr. BENTLEY.

Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo.

VIRG.

*Hæ tibi erunt artes ; —————
Parcere subiectis, & debellare superbos.*

VIRG.

————— *Quæ bellua raptis,
Cum semel effugit, reddit se prava catenis ?*

HOR.

THE
ACCOUNT
OF
THE
PROCEEDINGS

N. B. *Wherever the word Statute or Statutes is mentioned in the following Account; it means only those of the University or College spoken of.*

OF
THE
UNIVERSITY

A FULL and IMPARTIAL

ACCOUNT

Of all the late

PROCEEDINGS, &c.

THE late proceedings against Dr. *Bentley* having made a good deal of noise in the world ; and having given occasion to the enemies of the University, and the few friends of that Gentleman, to represent them both in print and conversation, as violent and unjustifiable, as the effects of a power falsely usurped or scandalously abused, as influenced by the malice of a party, disaffected to the Government ; it was necessary to publish a true and impartial account of the whole case, (of which I have been a witness and exact observer from the beginning to the end) to obviate the prejudices and mistakes about it, which are every where so industriously propagated.

This is a duty, which, though but a private member, I owe to the University, whose honour and privileges I have sworn to defend.

It is a piece of justice and gratitude due to our Vice-Chancellor, whose conduct will be found as just and necessary, as it is popular and agreeable ; whose concern for the interest and reputation of the University, has prevailed with him to sustain the certain envy and fatigue of a second year's magistracy ; whose experienced abilities, virtue and integrity, have convinced us, that we can no

L 1 2

where

where repose ourselves so safely at this time as in his hands. It is a piece of gratitude, I say, we all owe him, for the benefits of his excellent administration; to vindicate his character from the scandalous aspersions of such as are malicious enough to attempt, or weak enough to imagine that they can fully it.

I was besides the rather inclined to give myself this trouble, for the occasion it might possibly be of some good to *Trinity College*, for which I shall always have the last respect: It will be a strong presumption of the reasonableness and necessity of their complaints, that they are governed by a master so insolent, unjust and obstinate, as theirs will appear to be, before I have done with him.

This great ferment amongst us, which has raised the curiosity, and drawn the eyes of the nation upon us, had its rise from the trifling occasion of a fee claimed by *Dr. Bentley*, from those Doctors in Divinity who lately received their Degrees by virtue of the King's nomination: As this claim gave the beginning to the whole quarrel against him, and was the foundation of the censures that have since fallen upon him, I shall beg leave to be very particular and full in the account of it, as well to shew the temper and genius of him we have to deal with, as to justify the conduct of *Dr. Middleton*, who by the action he had commenced for the recovery of his money, gave the first motion to this famous Proceeding.

In *October 1717*, the day after his Majesty's gracious visit to the University, when several Doctors in Divinity, named by mandate, were attending in our Senate-house to receive the creation to their Degrees, *Dr. Bentley* made a new and extraordinary demand of four Guineas from each of them, on pretence of a fee due to him as Professor, over and above a broad piece which had by custom been allowed as a present on this occasion; he absolutely refused to create any Doctor till this fee, as he called it, was paid him. A demand so unexpected occasioned a long and warm

warm dispute, till at last many of the Doctors, and Dr. *Middleton* among the rest, consented to pay the fee in question, upon this condition, publicly made and frequently repeated to them, that he would restore the money, if it were not afterwards determined to be his right.

In the next congregation all those who had satisfied his demand received their creation from him ; but upon his refusal to create some others who would not comply with it, Dr. *Grigge*, then Vice-Chancellor, and the Heads who were present, looking upon this as a violent and bare-faced extortion, gave orders, that any other Doctor of Divinity should perform the ceremony instead of him ; and accordingly Dr. *Fisher*, the Master of *Sidney College*, created several for the usual gratuity of a broad piece. They sent at the same time a state of the case to the Duke of *Somerset*, our Chancellor, then at *Newmarket*, whose answer was, That if the Professor continued in this manner to interrupt the business of the University, he would himself come over on purpose to make him know the power of a Chancellor.

Dr. *Bentley* however still insisted upon his claim, but condescended so far, that, instead of the money which he had received of the first, he was content with a note from the rest promising the payment of it, if it should be determined for him by the King, or any authority delegated from him. But finding what scandal he had every where given by this conduct ; that his best friends, even Dr. *Davis* and Dr. *Laughton*, condemned him in it, and that he could procure no determination from Court in his favour, he submitted to create one of the King's Doctors who came last, and some others who commenced afterwards, without this pretended fee, or any note given in lieu of it. This was certainly giving up all right and title to it ; and yet after such a notorious and public piece of injustice, after his word solemnly given in the face of the University, to restore the money if he could not make good his title to it ; he had the assurance to tell the Vice-Chancellor, *That*
he

be would end the dispute as the Germans and Turks had done, with an Uti possidetis.

This fee of four Guineas had never once been demanded before from Degrees taken without exercise : Dr. *Beaumont*, the last Professor but one, had first introduced a fee of two Guineas for his trouble in opposing a Doctor in the schools, when an act was kept for the Degree ; the ground for it was, that by virtue of this opposition he saved to the responding Doctor the forfeiture of the same sum elsewhere. Dr. *James*, his Successor, endeavoured to extend this something farther, and claimed the same fee from some Doctors who had commenced without keeping their act ; but he was over-ruled in this by Dr. *Fisher*, then Vice-Chancellor, and obliged to restore the only two Guineas he had ever demanded. But to make himself amends for the disappointment, he raised the fee of his opposition to four Guineas, pretending that as it was in his choice to perform that exercise or not, he might set what price he pleased upon his own labour ; but it has been justly thought a reflection upon us, that this encroachment of his was not censured and superseded.

As then the sole pretence to this fee is grounded on exercise kept in the Schools, and on the trouble and fatigue sustained there by the Professor, and even then not warranted by any Statute or Equity : What reason or plea can there be for it in such Degrees as by the nature of them are excused from all exercise, and exempted from the penalties of not performing it ? The only thing that is said for it with any shew of reason is, that the other Professors of Law and Physick have their full fees on this occasion, as if all exercise had been regularly performed : And why then should not the Professor of Divinity be allowed the same ?

But their case will be found very different from his : for in the first place they have custom and prescription for their practice, which he does not so much as pretend to : And besides in the institution

stitution of all Universities, where an Ecclesiastical Benefice, or a sufficient stipend is settled upon the Professor of Divinity, it is made infamous, and at least a *turpe lucrum*, to take fees for the discharge of his duty: The Civil Law [a], which does not allow a Philosopher to be mercenary, will bear much stronger against a Professor of Divinity; the [b] Canon Law is particularly severe on this head, and treats it as simoniacal to take money for conferring the honours and degrees of this Faculty: And by a constitution of the [c] Council of *Lateran* (which, according to the [d] present Bishop of *Lincoln*, is said to be as forcible in *England* as an Act of Parliament) a Professor is made liable to deprivation for this practice. The famous *Bucer*, one of our first Professors in this chair, would not accept his degree of Doctor in Divinity, but on condition of paying no fees for it, which he condemned as unlawful in a speech made to the University, out of which I have subjoined [e] two memorable citations.

But besides all this, there is a clear and apparent equity in the case of the other Professors which Dr. *Bentley's* cannot admit of: At the time of their foundation by *Henry VIII*, the same stipend of forty pounds *per Ann.* was settled upon each of them, a provision in that age ample and sufficient to maintain the dignity of a *Regius Professor*; the taking of fees would then have been scandalous in any of them. The Statute says [f], that the sufficiency

[a] Hoc primum profiteri eos oportet, mercenariam operam spernere. *Ulp.*

[b] Cap. Prohibeas de Magistris, & ne aliquid exigatur pro licentia docendi.

[c] Cap. Quoniam eod. tit.

[d] Gibson's Codex Juris Eccles. p. 945.

[e] Quam certe severiter veteres illi verè sapientissimi atque sanctissimi Patres, omnem pecuniæ præstationem hisce abesse judicii & testimoniis censuerint, testantur satis qui sunt ab illis hac de re in frequentissimis atque religiosis ipsorum

Concilii constituti Canones. Denique ratio consilii mei approbanda, cur illud moderatorum hujus Scholæ beneficium admiserim, ut me in numerum Doctorum Theologorum cooptarent, omnino gratis, ut nemini quicquam hac de causa sit à me numeratum vel numerandum.

Orat. Mart. Bucer.

[f] *De Offic. trium Lector.* Quo quis ampliore mercede & stipendio donatus est, eò majorem laborem libenti animo capere debet. —

of the salary was to encourage the greater diligence in the discharge of their duty: but by the great change that has since happened in the value of money, their income is now become but a sixth part of its original value: This deficiency has been more than supplied to the Divinity Professors, by the addition of a good benefice to it from the Crown; and, as Dr. *Bentley* himself has bragged, he can now make it worth to him six hundred pounds *per Ann.* This is about three times as much as it was at first designed to be, and is probably the noblest endowment of any Professors in *Europe*. But the Professors of Law and Physick having had no augmentation of their original salaries, have no way left but that of fees to make themselves amends; without the allowance of these, their Professors would fall very short of a competent maintenance; and with all they are allowed to claim, they cannot bring them to half the value of their first institution.

But to make an end of the history of this fee, it is very certain that our Professor had neither statute, precedent, nor equity to support his claim to it. The University, as far as their authority reached with him, over-ruled him in it upon the spot: His Grace our Chancellor had declared against it: the Court took no cognizance of it: but a great Minister of State to whom he had talked much of referring it, had, as I have heard, assured our Vice-Chancellor, that he would not meddle with it. So that Dr. *Middleton* thought he had sufficient reason to expect his money again, all law whatsoever giving him a just and equitable action for the recovery of it. He accordingly made his demand of it, first by a letter, which was taken no notice of, and afterwards in person.

The Vice-Chancellor shewed on this occasion all possible tenderness and regard to Dr. *Bentley*, as has already been particularly observed in the printed state of our proceedings. But after all his pains to put a quiet and amicable end to this dispute, he has been repaid for his civility with the odious charge of a suspected Judge:

The

The decree was at last issued, and put into the hands of Mr. Clarke the Beadle to be executed; what reception it met with we shall find in the following deposition.

The Deposition of Mr. Clarke the Beadle.

“ ON Tuesday the 23d of September, I waited on Dr. Bentley, and told him I had orders from Mr. Vice-Chancellor to arrest him at the suit of Dr. Middleton. He asked me why I came so late, that he had expected me all the afternoon, designing to write by the Post to the King about it. I told him I brought it soon after I received it. Well, said he, 'tis illegal and unstatutable, and I will not obey it; let me see your arrest, are there nine heads to it? I told him I could not part with it, because it was my authority. Well, said he, you shall have it again, only let me peruse it. Then he took it, and said, It signified nothing, because there was not the consent of nine heads; and added, that the Vice-Chancellor used him worse than he would any common Doctor of the town; that the Vice-Chancellor was not his Judge, *and that he should find*; the King alone was his Judge, as he was his *Regius Professor*: that the Vice-Chancellor should not think that he would be concluded by what he and four or five of his friends determined against him over a bottle: that they acted foolishly, calling an arrest and a summons to his Court the same thing; and that if he gave bail or went to prison he satisfied the Law. I told him, I thought that was only in part, and then ask'd him for my arrest. He said, I might leave it with him, but that he would give it me whenever I called for it, or wanted it, and so we parted.

“ The next day in the morning I went and demanded it of him. He said, he had farther occasion for it, and could not part with it. I told him, he broke his word and promise with me, and pressed him to restore it: Well, well, said he, you shall come to no damage by it; and he added, that he would give it me

“ when *Friday* was over. I said, he dealt uncivilly by me, and
 “ would put me upon difficulties ; but he absolutely refused to do
 “ it, and so I went off ; and going to the Vice-Chancellor, told
 “ him what usage I had met with. He told me I must get another
 “ decree, which I did from Mr. *Cooke* of *Magdalen's*, but when
 “ I went with it to Dr. *Bentley's*, he would not see me, and I was
 “ refused admittance.”

“ On *Thursday*, *September* the 25th, about two of the Clock,
 “ Mr. *Simpson* and I went together to Dr. *Bentley's*, into the room
 “ where they dine ; the company was just gone out, and after a
 “ little time Mr. *Simpson* left me, and went to the Vice-Chancel-
 “ lor's. Not long after Dr. *Aspenburst*, Mr. *Lisle*, and Mr. *Wit-*
 “ *ton*, came in to me. Mr. *Lisle* asked me, what authority I had
 “ to stay in another man's house against the master's leave. I said,
 “ I was not to give him an account. He said, he believed I could
 “ not justify it. I then ask'd him, why he did not turn me out.
 “ Well, said he, if you want your arrest, I will give it you, and
 “ have orders to tell you, you shall come to no damage so far as a
 “ hundred pounds go. I said, if Dr. *Bentley* would give it me, I
 “ would thank him, but would receive it from no other hand.
 “ They stayed some time longer with me, and then going out, Dr.
 “ *Aspenburst* said, Well, Mr. *Beadle*, if you wo'nt go out of the
 “ room, I'll lock you in, which he did, but soon after returned
 “ and opened it. A while after this, the master's servant came in
 “ and desired I would go away. I told him, I had orders to stay
 “ longer ; on which he said he was commanded to lock the door,
 “ and the doors on both sides of the room were locked upon me
 “ for two hours at the least ; after six of the clock I knocked, and
 “ the door was opened to me, not long after which Mr. *Simpson*
 “ came and called me away.

“ Upon *Saturday*, *September* the 27th at night, I went again
 “ to Dr. *Bentley's*, Mr. *Witton* came out and asked my Business.
 “ I told him, I came to speak with Dr. *Bentley* from the Vice-
 Chancellor.

“Chancellor. He came out again and said the Doctor was busie,
 “and had nothing to say to me. I told him, I wanted my De-
 “cree. He came out the third time and brought it in his hand; I
 “said, I would not receive it but from the Doctor himself as he
 “had promised. He said, the Doctor knew I came to compleat
 “the Arrest, and would not then be seen by me, and that I must
 “not think he would be arrested when I please, but that three or
 “four days hence perhaps he would consent to it.

Edward Clarke.

*Edvardus Clarke Bedell. Arm. Jurat. Dept' in præscript. esse
 vera Juram^o ei delat' per me Robertum Grove, cui Dm^m
 Procanc. Potestat' dedit Juram^{um} in hac parte deferend'*

Ita test. Robertus Grove Not. Publicus
 Acad. Cant' Reg'.

I need not give my reader the trouble of any remarks upon
 this Deposition; it speaks so plainly for itself, that he must pre-
 vent me in the reflections it naturally suggests of the crime and in-
 solence of our Doctor: But the nature of his offence, and its ob-
 noxiousness to our Statutes, with the grounds of the proceedings
 that are to follow, have already been so clearly stated by an able
 and judicious hand, that there is no occasion left to add any thing
 here on this subject. I shall proceed therefore in my story. Dr.
 Bentley still shut himself up, and absconded for some time longer,
 making himself very merry with the arrest, and the Beadle's folly
 in delivering up his Decree, by which he pretended to have evaded
 it. We were entertained in the mean while with a few scraps of
 his wit, which turned, as usual, upon some good's raillery on the
 Heads, with Nick-names for such of them as happened to be least
 in his favour. To Dr. *Sherlock* he has on this occasion given the
 Title of *Cardinal Alberoni*. But having said, as I am told, not
 long since to a learned Dean, *I am your Pope, your only New Tes-*
tament is in my hands, we must not dispute with his Holiness the
 power of making Cardinals. There is hardly a Head of a Col-

lege amongst us whom he has not distinguished by some name, either ridiculous or scandalous: But for the Right Reverend Dr. *Bradford* Bishop of *Carlisle*, whom till very lately he has always treated with the utmost contempt, he could find none better than that of *Belzebub*.

In this interval the candidates for fellowships in his College being under examination, in the gaiety of heart he gave them this theme for their exercise;

Τὰς ἄλλας ἐνέχε; ἀπὸ δ' Ἐκτρος ἴχθεο χαίρει. Hom.

It was part of *Achilles's* advice to *Patroclus*, to kill or fall upon the rest as he pleased, but to keep his hands off from *Hector*. This he designed as a witty insult upon the Vice-Chancellor, who might indeed controul and humble the rest of the University at discretion, but must not pretend to meddle with him; our *Hector* was above his hand, and an over-match for him.

But on *Wednesday Oct. 1.* this great man consented to be arrested by another Beadle and a second Decree, and gave bail for his appearance; and the *Friday* following the Vice-Chancellor held a Court, assisted by six of the Heads as his Assessors, viz. Dr. *Covel*, Dr. *Ashton*, Dr. *Adams*, Dr. *Lany*, Dr. *Jenkins*, Dr. *Grigge*: it being usual with Vice-Chancellors, in any cause of importance, to call such to their assistance in it, as are best able to give advice on the occasion.

But after all this expectation and solemnity, Dr. *Bentley* did not think fit to make his appearance, which was such an instance of contempt as has seldom been known in the University: and to tell us, as he did afterwards, that he had sent a Proctor to appear for him, is so far from excusing, that it aggravates his offence; for by our express Statutes [g], and the practice of the Court, no

[g] *De Procuratoribus Litigantium*, & ipsum per se proponant, viz. Actor per se suam actionem, & Reus suam defensionem, party

party can be in judgment, or allowed to appear by proxy, till he has personally asked and obtained the Judge's leave to constitute a Proctor: and if the Plaintiff be present, which was the case, and the Defendant absent, his Proctor cannot be admitted. And farther, if [b] either party shall presume to procure or retain one to act for him contrary to the tenor of the Statute, he shall, if the Plaintiff, for that very reason lose his cause; if the Defendant, be looked upon as convict, and censured accordingly.

Dr. Middleton therefore, after leave granted him, appointed Mr. Cook his Proctor; who having entered his cause, began to accuse Dr. Bentley's contempt in not appearing, and moved for some censure upon it; and called upon the Beadle to make a return of the first Decree which was put into his hands, and to inform the Court of the execution of it: but he being confined to his chamber by a fit of the gout, sent his Deposition already mentioned, to give an account for him of the treatment he had met with in the discharge of his duty.

The Deposition being read, it then plainly appeared what the Doctor meant by his non-appearance. It was then clearly seen, that it was not any accidental or careless mistake; that it was not any omission of ignorance or inadvertency, that it was not barely an incivility or disrespect to the Vice-Chancellor, but a wilful and designed insult to his authority and jurisdiction. He had declared, we see, that he should not be his Judge; and was resolved to be as good as his word, at least to protract the cause, till it should expire with his magistracy.

sionem, nec Procuratores admittantur pro iisdem, nisi adversâ valetudine, vel aliâ legitimâ causâ per dominum approbandâ, sint detenti, quò minus in iudicio sui præsentiam possint exhibere, de quo in principio fides faciant juramento: si verò præsentem Actore, Reus ab-

sens fuerit, Procurator ejus non admittatur.

[b] *De Advocatis.* Quod si Actor contra tenorem præmissorum Advocatum aliquem procuraverit, causam suam hoc ipso amittat, Reus vero similia faciens pro convicto habeatur.

The crime then being flagrant and indisputable, being confirmed and aggravated by the Deposition of the Beadle; and the Vice-Chancellor having, as he declared, received the same defiance and contempt from him to his face, he did, with the express consent and approbation of all his Assessors, pronounce Dr. Bentley suspended *ab omni Gradu suscepto*, till he should make a proper submission for his offence.

This power of suspending from Degrees is clearly and undoubtedly given by our Statutes to our chief magistrate, and made particularly applicable to the very case before us, of contumacy and disobedience to his authority [i]. The particular constitution of our body makes it necessary that he should be armed with it, as an instrument of discipline, and a check upon the manners and orderly behaviour of our members. We have had instances of suspensions declared *extempore* immediately upon the offence, without any process or formality at all.

Yet the author of the Letters lately published in the *St. James's Post*, out of ignorance or malice, treats the exercise of this power as an encroachment and usurpation: but for all his childish declaiming against the dangerous influence and effects of an authority so absolute, our Vice-Chancellors have been in calm and quiet possession of it ever since our Statutes were given us, without raising the least terror or jealousy in the body, that their liberties or properties were endangered by it: this very instance we are speaking of, sufficiently shows how useful and necessary it is to curb the insolence of such amongst us, who make no scruple to trample upon privileges which they are solemnly [k] en-

[i] *De Cancellarii Officio & alibi*—Contumaces nec Obedientes suspensione Graduum judicio suo castigandos.

[k] *Ex Statutis in adm. hunc Graduum legendis*—Postremo, cautum est, ne quis hic ad gradum aliquem admittatur,

nisi se obedientem fore Cancellario, aut ejus vices gerenti juraverit; seque sua privilegia renuntiaturum, in quantum privilegiis & statutis Universitatis contrariantur.

gaged to defend, and insult an authority which they have sworn to obey.

This Letter-writer tells us, that it is a mistake to imagine that the appearance of these six Heads as Assessors in Court, could add any credit or weight to the proceeding, as if they were introduced only like mutes upon the stage, to fill up the scene, and grace the action: that because, strictly speaking, they have no voice or power in that Court, the whole must rest upon the sole authority of the Vice-Chancellor, and be looked upon as his single Act and Deed.

It is hard to guess what this author could mean by an insinuation which turns against himself, and effectually confutes his charge of rashness and violence in the Vice-Chancellor: For is it not a demonstration of his caution, candor and moderation, that in a case, where he is acknowledged the sole and competent Judge, where he wants no consent or concurrence to the validity of his sentence: he would not however take one step himself, without the advice and approbation of such as are best acquainted, and most experienced in the Statutes and Customs of the University?

If the Vice-Chancellor could have been capable of designing or concerting this disgrace to the master of *Trinity*, as has been insinuated, he had not wanted this opportunity, or the assistance of friends, for the execution of his design; there was a fair and just occasion which had long offered itself, and indeed called for some censure and animadversion upon him, I mean the shameful neglect of his duty in the Professorship; for though he is obliged by Oath to preach twice a year in *Latin*, and to read publick Lectures in Divinity at least twice a Week in Term time, yet he has never so much as once attempted to do either, till since his late suspension, when he well knew that he should be over-ruled in the attempt; but by this he hoped to bring an odium upon the Vice-Chancellor

Chancellor for having hindered this good Professor in a conscientious discharge of his duty. But as the Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the [l] Statutes his Visitor, to see that he does his duty, and to admonish him for any neglect of it, his lenity and forbearance to him on this occasion, is the only part of his administration which seems to want an excuse.

But he had said, it seems, in his Court, that if the Professor did not make his submission, he would in consequence of the suspension, declare the Professorship vacant: This I find is remembered by the Letter-writer by way of sneer, I guess, upon him, for having threatened more than he could or durst perform; but if ever this Question shall come upon the stage, it will be very easy to shew that there is nothing in it so difficult or dangerous as they imagine, and that it not only may, but must be vacated.

For besides, that its forfeiture might be fairly argued from his present want of [m] Degrees; that by its foundation [n] it is made inconsistent and incompatible with the Mastership of *Trinity College*; that he obtained it by bullying, and holds it by violence: Besides all this, I say, as the Statute has made it a necessary qualification of a Professor, that he have [o] no blemish or infamy upon his character, I would desire no other foundation to prove the necessity of his being ejected: He has been publickly accused by his Fellows of many great Crimes, which he never has or can clear himself of: And his trial, which never came to a sentence, has left the marks of such an infamy upon him, as by all

[l] *De officio trium Lectorum*—Si Officium suum negligenter fecerit, & per Vice-Cancellarium & Magistrum dicti Collegii admonitus eâ de re non emendaverit, &c.

[m] *Ibid.* Quos vel Doctores Theologice vel Baccalaureos ejusdem facultatis

semper esse volumus.

[n] *Ibid.* Nemo prædictorum Lectorum in dicto Collegio ullum Officium, aut Magistratum habeat.

[o] *Ibid.* Nemo unquam eligatur, qui sit de Hæresi probabiliter suspectus, vel infamiâ notatus.

the

the notions which the Civil or Canon Law has of it, would be sufficient not only to incapacitate him from being chosen Professor, but to deprive him when in possession. The suspicion of Heresy, and the marks of infamy, being the only incapacities mentioned as to his moral character, ought to be the more nicely insisted on. We have had a Professor of Mathematicks lately deprived for the one, and this Professor, we see, is equally liable for the other. But of this perhaps we may have occasion to treat again in the farther Progress of this Affair.

As to the hardship complained of, that he was denied the right of an appeal from this sentence, it would hardly deserve any notice, but that it has been insisted on as an instance of the violence and injustice of the Vice-Chancellor: Every body who is acquainted with our Constitution, must know that there could not be the least ground for an appeal on this occasion: There is indeed one allowed by our Statutes in every civil action between two Parties tried before the Vice-Chancellor; but what has this to do with a case of contempt censured by his authority? There had been already one appeal regularly made from a sentence of this Vice-Chancellor, which he neither obstructed, nor in the least resented; it is not in his power to withstand one, whenever statutely demanded; but in the present case, the Proctor of the University, who, upon an appeal, is to inhibit his farther proceeding, was perfectly convinced that there was here no pretence for such an inhibition: And the part the University has since acted in the last scene of this proceeding, shews plainly what he had to expect by an appeal to the Body.

But the grand and principal objection to the legality of this proceeding is, that our late Doctor was condemned unheard, and was not cited to answer for the offence for which he was censured; though he had desired an *Affix*, he would, it is said, have obeyed a *Citation*; and would have shewn that he had been misrepresented in the Deposition, for he could have denied the whole

from the beginning to the end ; he could have put the Court under this dilemma, either to acquit him or commit the absurdity of believing the oath of a Beadle against the word of the Master of *Trinity* : This was his old way of clearing himself from a heavy [p] charge against him in his controversy with Mr. Boyle. *The Bookseller affirms, Dr. Bentley denies ; Utri creditis, Quirites ?* But Mr. *Clark's* character and his happen to be so very different, that if he had sworn and the Beadle only denied, he would have made no advantage of his *Utri creditis* : In [the practice of all Courts, *Credendum est Ministro* is received as a maxim ; but *Credendum est Bentleio*, has never yet passed for such, even within the walls of *Trinity College*.

But he had not, it seems, as our Letter-writer tells us, the least notice or advice of what was acting against him, till the sentence of his suspension was actually pronounced : This is strange usage indeed, that the Vice-Chancellor should not think fit to take his consent along with him, when there was not a Head in town besides himself whose concurrence and advice he had not expressly procured on the occasion.

In his late famous trial, which all the world expected to end in his expulsion from his Mastership, *John of Ely* (as he always calls the late Bishop, whom though his Judge he had heartily contemned) was pleased, as he says, to beg of him by some common friends, that for some shew and form of justice, he would consent to be suspended, though but for a few days ; but our Vice-Chancellor is so passionate and violent a Judge, that he will not take a *Contempt* at his hands, but proceeds to a sentence, without so much as consulting him whether he will submit to it or no.

The objection is so trifling, that I can hardly bring myself to

[p] See the *Pref. to Bentl. Dissertation upon Phalaris*.

be serious upon it ; for I am well informed, that no other Court in *England*, upon a manifest and apparent contempt of it's jurisdiction, confirmed by the report and complaint of it's officer, ever waits the formality of publishing a Citation, but proceeds directly to chastise the offender : The Civil Courts thunder immediately with their attachments, the ecclesiastical with their ex-communications.

But to silence at once all objections of this kind, the Vice-Chancellor in the proceedings in his Court, is not only exempted by our Statutes [q], from all particular forms, however necessary elsewhere, but is obliged to omit them : He is obliged to hear and determine all causes before him in a short [r] and summary method, without any of the [s] pomp and solemnity of the law, not regarding forms, but [t] the truth only : So that in the present case before us, the truth being demonstrably found, beyond all possibility of doubt or mistake, there was nothing more to be regarded, the cause by our Statutes was certainly ripe for a sentence.

But let us suppose for once that a Citation had been, if not a common right, yet a civility at least which every body in our Professor's circumstances might have expected : Yet he of all men living has the least reason to claim the advantage or plead the necessity of it : For though by the Statutes [u] of his College, no member there can be punished, especially for the greater crimes, without a previous confession, or a legal conviction ; yet in all the tyrannical censures he has inflicted, there is not, I dare say, one instance of his having ever cited and convicted the party he

[q] *De Cancellarii Officio, De Causis forensibus, & Decret. Senat.* Cancellarius potestatem habebit omnes omnium scholasticorum controversias tum audiendas tum dirimendas.

[r] *Summariè.*

[s] *Omni juris solennitate semoti.*

[t] *Solâ facti veritate inspectâ, &c.*

[u] *Si confessus fuerit, aut idoneis testibus convictus, Collegio privetur.*

punished: When the want of a Citation has been sometimes objected to him, *Would you have me*, he used to say, *come to sending and proving*. But to give one example out of many, of his way of dispensing justice in his College: He expelled by his authority one young gentleman from his Fellowship; which was at that time the only subsistence and income he had in the world, without any previous notice or summons, or the least appearance of any evidence against him, upon the sole pretence of a common fame, which all who knew him believed to be false, and which his life and conversation has since proved him incapable of: And when it was objected, that the irregularity of this proceeding might bring some trouble upon the College, his answer was, *His Father has left him a beggar, and he cannot hurt us*.

This frivolous clamour and outcry against the validity of the Vice-Chancellor's sentence puts me in mind of the advice which Mr. Bentley always gives his friends in distress, *to raise but dust enough, and they may find a way to get off in the cloud*. He has now been shewing us his skill in this art, which he has found useful to him on many occasions: The *Denial of an Appeal*, the *want of a Citation*, the *Malice of a Party*, is the *Dust* he has been raising to blind the world withal, till he could find or make a hole to creep out at. It is an old trick, to throw dust in people's eyes, and run away with their perriwigs; but he has improved the invention, to the running away with their senses. But though he has magnificently said on this occasion, that he has rubbed through many a worse difficulty than this; yet he now seems caught in a net where his struggling will but entangle him the surer: The censure of an University, like a bearded arrow, sticks fast where-ever it lights,

—*hæret lateri letalis arundo*,

it galls but the more effectually, for our violence in drawing it; or, to borrow a *Simile* of his own, it is *like Hercules's skirt, and will stick to him till his funeral*.

He.

He had, we know, for a twelve-month past been teizing the Vice-Chancellor, to summon Serjeant *Miller*, Fellow of *Trinity College*, into his Court to answer there for a book he had published before the late Act of Grace, reflecting on the honour and privileges of the University. He offered the service of his Agent and Proctor Mr. *Lisle* to prosecute *gratis* in the cause. But when it was hinted, that because of some privileges belonging to Serjeants at Law, it might be questioned whether he would obey such a summons; *If he does not*, says he, *expel him directly; my Lord Chief Justice Parker, and Lord Chief Justice King have often asked me, why do you not expel him?* If the Vice-Chancellor had followed his advice in this case, or in another, where he was pressed to it by him, viz. the turning Dr. *Johnson* out of his Conservatorship of the river: Though the characters of these gentlemen might have given some colour to the insinuation, we should then have heard nothing from him of the design and spleen of a Party in it; we should have seen him defending the Vice-Chancellor's Sentence as just and regular: That the Serjeant had, contrary to his Oaths, betrayed our privileges, contemned our jurisdiction, and as an unworthy Member was deservedly cut off from the Body. But now that this has happened to be his own case, though it be notorious, that he has run through all the several changes of Parties, that he has made his Court to them all, upon the first prospect of advantage from any side: That there was a time when his Flatterer and sole Confident Dr. *Asheburst*, (whose company Dr. *Laughton* has long ago forbid to his Pupils) took some pains to have it believed that his Master would not take the Oaths to this Government; yet now he pretends to fall a Martyr for his zeal to King *George* and the Protestant Succession.

It is well known that the Vice-Chancellor did in Convocation, and every where else, distinguish his affection to the Government, at the time when the Master of *Trinity* affected to shew a neglect and aversion to it: But now we are told, that it is just the reverse
between

between them ; but though I can easily allow and account for it in the one, I cannot see the least ground or reason to suspect any change in the other.

In *Trinity College*, when his tyranny had raised a necessary prosecution of him, by the Fellows ; he threw himself upon the *Whigs* as a sufferer in their Cause, and persecuted for his attachment [w] to *the then present best Ministry*. While the quarrel continued, the Ministry happened to change ; and the same persons, who had been said in print to pursue him for being a *Whig*, were then cried out upon for their malice to him as a *Tory*, and he had the address or good fortune to screen himself from justice by assuming that character : And his Dedication to the Earl of *Oxford*, is hardly more awkward in its panegyrick upon his Patron, than severe in its satire upon the *Whigs*.

The Controversy still out-lived the late Queen ; the Fellows renewed their petition for a Visitation, which has laid two years before the Council : but he now plays his old game upon them ; is just come round to where he first set out, and the *present Ministry* is once more become the *best* with him.

I cannot help turning upon him another application of his own, which seems to have been suggested to him by his own conduct [x] ; his loyalty is a mere Empusa, it changes shapes as fast as *Vertumnus*.

Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo ?

In the time of this suspension our Chancellor the Duke of *Somerset* did us the honour of a visit, and of spending a *Sunday* with us in the University : A favour so great and extraordinary was received by us with all the proper sentiments of gratitude and duty

[w] See the Pref. of his printed Letter to the Bishop of Ely.
Free-Thinking.

[x] *Remains on*

to his Grace: The Vice-Chancellor and Heads laid before him all the measures and steps they had taken in this affair, which he approved and concurred with; and I hope it will always be remembered to his honour, that he was willing, if there had been occasion, to have chastised in person this insult upon our privileges: But finding that there was no want of spirit or power in the Heads to do themselves justice on this occasion, having recommended to them to pursue the resolution they were in, of vindicating their authority, he left us on the *Monday* morning, and pursued his journey.

Upon the rumour of the Chancellor's coming to the University, Mr. *Bentley* gave him the trouble of a Letter to *New-Market*, making some overtures of submitting himself to him, but proposing that it might be at a private audience in *Clare-Hall*, or that the Duke would take the pains of coming to *Trinity College*, to receive his submission at his own house.

His Grace was pleased to make himself merry with this proposal at a full meeting of the Heads; a proposal so insolent and absurd, that no man but Mr. *Bentley* could have made it: It was, in effect, to desire a greater condescension and submission from the Duke, than was even expected from himself. But even this will hardly seem strange from him, who dares to give out, that the King and his Ministry will interpose to reverse our statutable proceedings against him: That for the sake of a single person so justly odious, so void of all credit and interest amongst us, his Majesty will set a mark of his displeasure upon his famous and loyal University: But it is to be hoped that an insolence so criminal, so apparently tending to alienate the affections of his people from his Majesty, may meet with the just severity and chastisement of the law.

After the memorable day of suspension, as it is called, there were three Courts held in the fortnight following, for no other reason

reason but to give Mr. *Bentley* time and opportunity to come in and submit; but he not appearing, it is not material to observe what was done there; before the third Court the Vice-Chancellor sent him word that it would be the last, in which he would wait for his submission: But *submission* was a term which he did not at all understand, and it was the business of a Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, to know what might be the meaning of it: When it was explained to him to be an acknowledgment of his offence, an asking of pardon, and an humble request to be restored. He thought, I suppose that a duty so servile belonged only to the Fellows of *Trinity College*, and could not therefore legally be required of the Master: But if a submission by proxy would have given satisfaction, he had two or three of his Doctors, long trained and exercised in all the kinds of it, who, for the least word he could have spoke, would have done it for him to admiration.

After these Courts the Vice-Chancellor called a meeting of the Heads, not to his own house, as the Letter-writer says, but to the Master's of *Peter-House*, Dr. *Richardson's*; who being something indisposed, they paid him the compliment of waiting upon him at his lodgings; for it was his judgment and advice that had the principal influence in the management of this affair; it was to his great experience in the Statutes and Customs of the University, that the Vice-Chancellor paid the utmost deference in every step of this proceeding; and his known candour and zeal for the government will be sufficient to clear it from the least suspicion either of *Violence* or *Disloyalty*.

It was now high time to think of some way more effectual for the saving the honour and privileges of the University; all that the Vice-Chancellor had done, which was the utmost effort of his prerogative, was plainly insufficient, was ridiculed only and despised; and to suffer his authority to be thus contemned by any of our Members of what station or character soever, was a prece-

dent too dangerous to be allowed in an University. Contumacy, which was evidently the crime here [y] committed, is punishable by our Statutes [z] with the severest penalties: It can no more be endured with us, than mutiny in an army, without dissolving our discipline and our Government: And indeed the nature and necessity of things require, that in all societies an obstinate contempt of authority must end in a cutting off from the body.

At this meeting therefore, it was proposed to expel Mr. Bentley the University: But though they were all unanimous in the opinion that he had statutablely deserved it; though there wanted neither precedent, nor power, nor consent for the doing it; yet as the old Statutes [a] generally direct, that offences of a high nature or cases of importance should be brought to the hearing and decision of the body; they resolved [to take this method, as being open and public, and therefore least liable to exception; and the Vice-Chancellor was accordingly desired to prepare a grace for the degrading him to be proposed to the Senate.

In the University of Oxford they have a Statute [b] which literally describes our very case: That if any Member, who is to be arrested, shall, upon the Beadle's shewing him the Warrant of the Vice-Chancellor, refuse to surrender himself immediately,

[y] Hinc tradunt Doctores communiter, qui citatus respondet nolle se comparere, verè & manifestè contumax efficitur; atque poenam veræ & manifestæ contumaciæ meretur, etiamsi semel & non peremptoriè citatus sit. *Vid. Reyner in verbo Contumacia.*

[z] *De Rebellantibus Cancellario.*—Contra Cancellarii quoque prohibitionem colluctantes, & alias sibi inobedientes & contumaces, sine differentia Personarum, simili poenâ, viz. expulsione ab Universitate, coërceantur.

[a] *De Potestate Cancellarii.*—Cancellarius vel Vicarius per se tantum (si voluerit) causas Scholarium universas audiat & decimat, nisi Facti atrocitas vel Publicæ quietis perturbatio Magistrorum requirat Convenientiam & Assensum.

[b] *De iis qui de se justitiam fieri non permittunt.*—Si quis mandato Vice-Cancellarii per Bedellorum aliquem arrestandus, Bedello Warrantum Vice-Cancellarii monstranti, protinus sese haud dederit; si Scholaris fuerit, Banniat; & si Graduatius fuerit, Gradu privetur.

if a Graduate, he shall be degraded, if not, expelled; the reason and equity of this law extends equally to us; if it be necessary in either Univerſity, it is certainly ſo in both: But though we have not this caſe in any ſingle Statute, yet it is eaſily to be collected from many of our ſcattered ones [c]; and the puniſhment of Degradation is ſufficiently warranted both by Statute and Precedent.

On Friday therefore (Octob. 17.) two Congregations were appointed for the finiſhing this affair: In the firſt, the Vice-Chancellor made a handſom and elegant Speech in *Latin*, giving a clear and ſuccinct account of all that had paſſed before him in relation to the Maſter of *Trinity*; the acts of the Court and depoſition of the Beadle were afterwards read; and then the following Grace, having paſſed the approbation of the *Caput*, was propoſed to the Body; which concluded the buſineſs of the morning.

A Copy of the Grace:

CUM Reverendus Vir, Richardus Bentley, Collegii Trinitatis Maſter, ad ſummos in hac Univerſitate Titulos & Honores veſtro Favore dudum promotus, adeo ſe immemorem & Loci ſui & Veſtræ autoritatis dederit, ut debitè ſummonitus ad comparandum & reſpondendum in cauſâ coram Procancellario obedientiam recuſaverit, Miniſtrum Univerſitatis ſummonentem indignis modis tractaverit, Procancellarium & Capita Collegiorum opprobriis impetiverit, Jurisdictionem denique Univerſitatis, longo uſu, Regiis Chartis, & auctoritate Parlamenti ſtabilitam pro nibilo habendam eſſe declaraverit; cumque idem Richardus Bentley ſuper his cauſis ab omni Gradu ſuſ-

[c] *De Pœna impediendum Privilegia; & alibi*—Quicumque Maſter Regens vel non Regens majori parti Regentium probabiliter fuerit ſuſpectus, quod impetrationem Libertatum ſeu Privilegiorum pro dictâ Univerſitate, vel Promotionem eorundem vel executionem impedierit, &c. à Cancellario juxta qualitatem negotii arbitrando Purgatio judicetur, & ſi in dictâ purgatione deſecerit, pro convicto habeatur, & propter idem delictum ab omni actu Magiſtrali, beneficiis & honoribus ejuſdem Univerſitatis ſuspendatur & excludatur.

penfus fuerit, & postea per tres dies juridicos expectatus comparere tamen neglexerit; Placeat vobis ut dictus Richardus Bentley ab omni Gradu, Titulo, & Jure in hac Universitate dejiciatur & excludatur.

The *Caput* mentioned above is a Committee of six persons chosen from the different parts of our Body, to consult and determine of what is proper to be proposed to the University, the Vice-Chancellor always being one: Every Grace, before it can be offered to us in Congregation, must first pass the scrutiny of the *Caput*, where each Member has a Negative upon it.

The gaining therefore of a Friend might here have been of some service to Mr. Bentley, as it would, having prevented for some little time at least, the censure now falling upon him; but when that was found impracticable, another design was formed and executed by Dr. *Aspenhurst* and Mr. *Bull*, who came to require of the Vice-Chancellor that the Oaths might be tendered to Dr. *Otway*, then a Member of the *Caput*, while it was actually assembled and attending to this Grace which was reading to them.

This was meant only as an affront to a worthy gentleman of good family and fortune, who has been in *Commission of the Peace* almost ever since the *Revolution*, and for near as many years has acted in the *Caput*, sometimes with Dr. *Aspenhurst* himself, without the least intimation, or indeed the least ground for any offence; but he was now, I say, to be affronted not for any disaffection to King *George*, but to the *Master of Trinity*, and for his known frankness in declaring against all such, whose ill practices and immoralities he detests: but the Vice-Chancellor, who well knew the impertinence as well as malice of the demand; that he had no power to require any oath or test on such an occasion; that the oaths, whether taken or refused, could have no influence upon his right of voting at that time, sent them back to their places, not without some indignation.

And it was well for them that they came off so: For Dr. Richardson, who knows perfectly well what would have been proper on the occasion, has since, as I am told, declared, that, if he had been Vice-Chancellor, he would have suspended them both upon the spot, for this rude and unparalleled interruption to the business of the University.

The letter-writer reproaches us here with a charge of levity and inconstancy, for having some time ago voted honours to this gentleman in the same place where we are now going to degrade him: but though I might infer from this, some change in the Professor rather than in the University; though I might make use of it to shew that we have no personal malice or aversion to him, but are as ready to honour as to censure him, whenever it becomes us; yet I shall freely waive all the advantage I could make of it, and content myself at present with wiping off the reproach, by observing, that the University is very little answerable for this vote, which was gained merely by artifice and management, the design being whispered only to friends, till it was carried as silently and clandestinely as possible in a single congregation; and the scandal it gave was the occasion of a resolution, which soon after passed into a decree, that no business for the future should receive its completion in the University but in two congregations. It was in consequence of this decree, that this grace of degradation came to be proposed to us a second time in the afternoon of the same day; it being then again read and put to the vote, was carried by one hundred and eight voices for it, to fifty against it; a majority rarely known, but where Mr. Bentley happens to be concerned: Of ten heads who were present, there was but one against the grace, and of twenty other doctors but six.

Thus fell the *Great Bentley* from all his degrees amongst us; a sacrifice, as his writer says, to the *Madness of the People*, but, as I have plainly shewn, to *his own*;

Quos Jupiter vult perdere, dementat prius.

His conduct will bear me out in the application, and shews the plain marks of a judgment and insatiation upon him: By the restoring of four Guineas, which he had shamefully extorted, he might have saved himself the great trouble and expence which his obstinacy has involved him in: By an easy, and perhaps private submission, he might have saved himself the shame of this public disgrace; but for the glory of never having been known to submit, he has risked not only his credit, but, what is much dearer to him, his preferments, on the quarrel. By this censure, which now lies upon him, he stands actually incapacitated both for his Mastership and Professorship; by his own rashness he has at once brought upon himself, what all the petitions and remonstrances of his College could never effect.

—*Quod optanti Divum promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.*

Virg.

We have had precedents of his punishment, but never any of his behaviour or his crime: We have had instances of *Suspensions* by Vice-Chancellors, of *Degradations* by the Body, but never any where the power of those censures was disputed with either: We have had a Professor of Divinity [*d*] deprived of his lecture, expelled the University and *Trinity College*; another great and learned one [*e*] was forced to fly for the same, and left his Professorship with this memorable saying, *Fugio, ne fugarer*; but never any man before himself durst provoke and defy the resentment of this venerable Body, or ever made it a controversy, whether he or the University should submit: This was a part reserved for our mighty *Hector*; this was left to finish the character of the *Great Bentley*, who resolves to fall, like some other heroes of tragedy, braving the Gods and his Destiny.

Quantò doctior es, tantò te geras submissius.

Cic.

He has acted just the reverse of this good old precept, which

[*d*] Cartwright.

[*e*] Peter Baro.

we

we learn with our *Grammars* ; and his great learning is the only excuse we ever heard of for his much greater Pride.

Sume superbiam quæsitam meritis,

is a text of his *Horace*, much oftner quoted by this Professor of Divinity, than any one in his *New Testament*.

Even now, when his Mastership is precarious and at mercy, he threatens, I am told, with expulsion those Fellows of his College, who according to their privilege, their duty and their conscience, gave their votes for his degradation ; and when he was asked by a friend how he could justify it, *I'll do it, says he, and let them get it undone, if they can.*

We may strip him of his *Titles*, but we never can, we see, of his *Insolence* ; he has ceased to be *Doctor*, and may cease to be *Professor*, but he can never cease to be *Bentley* : There he will triumph over the University to the last ; all its learning being unable to polish, its manners to soften, or its discipline to tame the superior obstinacy of his genius.

I have now given a full, and, I am sure, a true account of this whole proceeding : There is not a single fact affirmed or insinuated in it, which Mr. *Bentley* himself does not know to be true, and which, whenever he pleases, I cannot easily prove to be so : There is something so singularly rude and barbarous in his way of treating all mankind, that whoever has occasion to relate it, will, instead of aggravating, find himself obliged to qualify and soften the harshness of his story, lest it should pass for incredible : But if I am thought by any too free or severe upon a person so distinguished by his learning and preferments, it must be remembered that it was he, or his apologist, who first began the hostility, by abusing the Vice-Chancellor and University in two printed letters, which are scandalously false, and malicious in every article of them : To observe a decency and complaisance towards him who

has

has no notion of it would be interpreted only as the cowardice or weakness of his adversary. A controversy with him must always be a *fighting without quarter*; for it is but necessary not to give any, where you are sure of finding none.

P O S T S C R I P T.

AFTER I had sent my papers to the Press, I met with the following extract of a letter taken from the *Flying-Post* dated Nov. 13, 1714; which I thought very proper to be added here by way of Postscript, as it might serve for a farther proof and illustration of what I have already observed of the loyalty of our Professor.

“ Dr. Bentley, in his visitation at Cambridge Nov. 4, has zealously propagated the common cant of the *Danger of the Church*, for which we have paid so dearly already.

“ It was Mr. Archdeacon’s turn to harangue, of which, till I get the whole speech, I shall communicate to you this post, only this remarkable period; *It is hardly possible for a foreign Prince to avoid several errors in Government at his first coming amongst us; but I doubt not but a little time will open his eyes, and then all will be well.* Concluding with an exhortation to his brethren to join with him in prayers to God, so to direct the King’s heart in the choice of a Bishop for them, that he might send them one *at least not inferior to his reverend predecessor*, who could not escape a disdainful lash of his pen, though now at rest, for designing to expel the Doctor for ruining one of the best of our learned societies.”

A

S E C O N D P A R T

Of the FULL and IMPARTIAL

A C C O U N T

Of all the late

P R O C E E D I N G S

I N T H E

Univerſity of *CAMBRIDGE*

A G A I N S T

Dr. B E N T L E Y.

————— *Iracundus, inexorabilis, acer*
Jura neget ſibi nata, nihil non arroget——

Hor.

Ergò ignem, cujus ſcintillas ipſe dedifti,
Flagrantem latè, & rapientem cuncta videbis,
Nec tibi parceretur miſero, trepidumque MAGISTRUM
In caveâ magno fremitu Leo tollet alumnus.

Juv.

THE
ACCOUNT
OF THE
REVENUE
OF THE
UNION OF CAMBODIA
AND
SINGAPORE

1860

Printed by the Government Printer,
Singapore.

A

S E C O N D P A R T

Of the Full and Impartial

A C C O U N T

O F T H E

P R O C E E D I N G S, &c.

SINCE the publishing of *the full and impartial account of our proceedings*, though the performance, I am told, has done me no discredit, which is some satisfaction to an author not used to the press; yet the only pleasure I find from it, is in the consciousness of the truth and sincerity with which it is writ, and in the hopes it gives me of doing some good to our cause, by the kind reception it has met with.

The Master of *Trinity* has not yet attempted, by himself or friends, to disprove any one single fact in it; though there are some alledged against him, which hardly any man but himself would bear the scandal or odium of, for all the preferments or learning he is so proud of.

The *Letter-writer* indeed, whom I had often occasion to mention, has in a third letter lately printed, made some cavils and reflections, not upon its veracity but its reasoning, which I can

easily forgive him ; for in this I am just the reverse of our Professor, and had rather have my understanding than my integrity called in question.

His friends, when they can no longer defend his honour, think it enough to display his learning ; but virtue, though joined with ignorance, makes a much fairer character, than vice with the greatest learning.

Invidiam placare paras, virtute relicta ?

He may comfort himself, if he pleases, with the dying speech of Nero,

Qualis Artifex pereo ?

What a Critic is lost to the World ?

Or like another learned tyrant, when expelled his College as unfit to govern men, he may turn an useful schoolmaster and governor of boys.

In encountering this *Letter-writer*, I must comply with the *Ceremonial* observed by all fair combatants ; who, before they fall on, salute each other always with much decency and respect. I return him the compliment which he makes me at setting out, and own him a champion full as good as his cause ; and though his objections will soon appear both frivolous and false, yet I allow them to be the best which his subject can afford him.

He begins by reviving the story of the *Fee*, which the Professor will hardly thank him for : he must, I am sure, be heartily sick of it by this time ; and the surfeit it has given him, will make him very squeamish for the future of touching *Gold* again.

— *Melius non tangere clamo,
Flebit, & insignis tota cantabitur urbe.*

He little thought that such a trifle could have brought so much trouble and disgrace upon him : but it is, we see, with a *scul*
Character,

Character, just as with a *foul Constitution*, the least accident that sets the humours in motion, generally raises such a ferment, as is always dangerous, and often fatal: the gentle *Evacuation* which the Vice-Chancellor would have given him, had been properer *Physic* for his case, than what his *Ass—st* can prescribe him; his friends and enemies agree in this, that the advice of this *Physician* will one day be the ruin of him.

By the whole tenor and design of this third letter, the author endeavours to draw his reader into this error and mistake, that, while all the other officers of the University are allowed a right to *Fees* at a *Royal Commencement*, the Professor of Divinity is the only one, who is not permitted to claim any; he takes not the least notice of a *Broadpiece* which he receives from every Doctor as the special *Fee* on this occasion, which nobody disputes with him, which is more than sufficient for his trouble, and more than he can equitably claim from any degrees whatsoever.

It is this *Fee*, and not the four Guineas in dispute, which must be put upon the same foot, and compared with those of the other officers; he has the same right to it, and no other, than they have to theirs: If the other *Fees* are an encroachment, so is this; if the rest take a Guinea where a Shilling only is due, he receives his *Broadpiece* for a Shilling, which will appear to be all that he has a right to by Statute, whenever the table of *Fees* we are threatened with comes to be published.

But though we are desired to shew any precedents of these *Fees* before the *Revolution*; I now know many in the University, who remember their being customary; and some, who themselves have paid them in King *Charles* the II'd's time: It is strange to see things roundly affirmed as true, which the least enquiry about them can so easily prove to be false.

—— *Phalaris licet imperet ut sis*

Falsus, &c.

Summum crede nefas,

The

The difference then between our other Magistrates and the Professor, is this; that while they were content with the *Fees* which they found their predecessors possessed of, he was resolved to add four Guineas extraordinary to his; which had never been heard of or demanded before, and in defiance of the authority of the University, and the remonstrances of his friends, did violently extort them from several of the Doctors.

But these Officers of ours are the men, says this writer, who have condemned Dr. Bentley for *exorbitant* and *unstatutable Fees*; he insists upon it and repeats it, that these are the men who have *voted against*, these the judges who have *condemned* him for *exaction*, which is another blunder so egregious, that I cannot easily find a name for it: Every freshman cannot but know, that there has not yet been either *Sentence* or *Vote* in the University upon the *Fee* in question; the case is now depending before the Vice-Chancellor, and the Professor still at liberty to make the best defence he can for himself, but to as little purpose, probably, as his advocate pleads here for him to the world.

The next point which this author insists upon is, that the Professor having been arrested in an action of debt, and given bail for his appearance, it was illegal and absurd to punish him for a *Contempt*, when he was liable only to a *Forfeiture of his Bail*; he acutely distinguishes between a *Civil* and *Criminal* process, but does not imagine, I guess, that there can be any of a *mixt* and *compound* nature: But let him ask, as he says, *the emptiest, ignorantest limb of the Law*, let him ask *Proctor Lisle himself*, whether, in the prosecution of a *Civil* cause, a man may not be guilty of something *criminal*, and in an action of debt commit a *Contempt of the Court*? Grant me but this, which is as self-evident as any *Axiom* in *Mathematicks*, and I will demonstrate the legality and necessity of our proceedings.

Our Statutes without exception direct, that in all causes, both parties

parties must make their appearance and own the authority of the Vice-Chancellor : The Professor was sued in an action of debt ; before the cause came on, he defied and threatened the Judge to his face ; on the Court day he refused to appear ; his *Contempt* was accused by the Proctor, and proved to be a wilful and resolved *one* by the deposition of the Beadle : Where then lies the difficulty ? The Statutes are clear, besides a *Forfeiture of Bail*, or loss of the cause, the *contumacious* and *disobedient* are to be punished by a *Suspension from degrees* ; both these are very consistent, and both very necessary ; the one as the *Satisfaction* given to the Judge, the other as the *Security* provided for the *Creditor* ; the Professor has already suffered the one, and his friends need not be in any pain for the other ; it will without doubt be adjusted to satisfaction when the merits of this cause shall come to be determined, which, because of this incidental point of *Contempt*, have been necessarily delayed for some time.

Whatever has been said in defence of our Professor turns only upon mere *Subtleties* and *Niceties* of Law, which we have nothing to do with ; they do not pretend to say, that he has not deserved punishment, but that we have been mistaken in our methods of applying it ; but unless they could prove that the charge against him was false ; that the Judge was not fully informed ; that he was mistaken in the facts on which his sentence was grounded ; whatever else they can say will be little to their purpose : for we do not enough consider in this case the fallacy of arguing from the practice of other courts to that of ours, which is of a very different and peculiar constitution ; whatever forms are necessary, whatever omissions fatal elsewhere, we are for good reasons discharged from them all ; ours is a *Court of Equity*, where the Judge is obliged to determine *ex æquo & bono*, to decide upon the truth, as soon as it appears to him, and which way soever it happens to be proved, and an *Affidavit* taken in a *Chamber* by the Register, if it be credible, is the same evidence with us as one taken in *Court*.

But the *Letter-writer* tells us, that if the Master of *Trinity* had been guilty of a *Contempt*, it was to the *first Writ* only, which the Vice-Chancellor himself did in effect *contemn* by granting a *second*, which is a mere gingle upon words, without any sense or meaning at all: The first *Decree* or *Writ* was fraudulently seized and violently detained from the Officer; a *second* was granted, which whether necessary or no, is not much to the purpose; it was then perhaps thought proper for the security of the Plaintiff, lest the validity of the arrest might otherwise be disputed; it was to all intents and purposes the same with the first, conceived in the same terms, issuing from the same authority; and is therefore so far from proving (as this author would make it) any nullity or illegality in the other, that it demonstrates just the contrary; if there had been any want of form or authority to the first, it would have been supplied to the second; but both being the same, to allow the validity of the one, is to establish that of the other: A *single Writ* had certainly been sufficient for any other member of the University, but *double Fetters* are not strong enough for this *subtle old Offender*.

——— *mille adde catenas,*
Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus vincula Proteus.

I would now advise this writer to keep close to himself the *ridiculous nonsense* he is so free of to others: As for the *Retraction* he promises, we will allow it to pass for mere ceremony and grimace; if he had a mind to have been believed, he should have retracted the *many Falshoods*, and made amends for the scandal of his *two former Letters*; but if he once begins to have *Quarrels*, he is no longer an advocate for the Master of *Trinity*; *Alas!*——— he would soon be dispatched to discharge him the cause; where to own the truth is to betray his client, who, though often *convicted*, was never known to *recant*.

It must however be owned, that this third Letter, as weak as
it

it may seem to be to common readers, has been declared answerable by a *learned Civilian and Chancellor of a Diocese*. If this gentleman would but give himself the trouble of writing upon the subject, I could be proud of owning myself convinced by such an authority. I have often wished that he would give me an opportunity of displaying to the world his great character and abilities : whenever he will do me the honour to sit to me for his picture, I have got such colours by me, as will paint him to the life ; Sir *Godfrey* himself shall not draw him half so like ; the piece I shall make of him, may be proper for a present to the Bishops his patrons.

Now that the friends of the Master of *Trinity* have nothing more left to say for him, but find themselves only exposed for the little cavils and exceptions they have made to our proceedings ; they begin to hector and threaten us with a *Royal Visitation*, which, we are told, is now preparing to chastise the insolent and sawcy spirit of the University.

But how ridiculous is it to imagine, that we, who are desirous to prove to all the world the justice of our cause, who, like the Universities of *France*, would appeal even to a *General Council* against the insolence of this *Pope of ours* ; that we, I say, should have reason to be afraid of such judges, as his Majesty will send down to us !

A *Visitation* is what many amongst us have wished, what the Fellows of *Trinity* have long petitioned for, what no man has any reason to fear, but such whose ill lives and practices cannot answer the obligations they are sworn to :

*At bene si quis,
Et puris vivat manibus, contemnat.*

The very mention of visitors has given a new life and joy to every member of honest *Trinity College* ; they now congratulate each other,

that their deliverance is at hand, that their slavery is near expiring, when their Master must give an account of such a *Violation of Statutes*, such an *Abuse of Discipline*, such a *squandering of their Revenues*, as has never been known in any College since its foundation.

I cannot help remembring here an instance or two of his *Discipline*, which will hardly be forgot when his indictment comes to be drawn : There is now a senior fellow in his College, whose name he once covered upon the Buttery-tables ; which punishment, though unknown to the practice and statutes of the house, is looked upon as the next thing to an expulsion. The reason of it in this case could not so much as be guessed at, till it was discovered to us by one of his confidants ; it was not that the *Morals* or the *Learning*, but the *Courage* of this honest gentleman was suspected ; if I can frighten, says the Master, such as are no way obnoxious, I shall easily bring those who are so into my measures.

This is the encouragement he gives to the virtue ; let us see what use he makes of the vices of his fellows.

A certain *Archdeacon's Official* sent one day for two of the senior fellows, to acquaint them, that he was obliged in conscience and in virtue of his office, to prosecute them in his Court, for the notorious and public scandal of their lives and conversations ; the good old man declared with tears in his eyes, the great uneasiness it gave him, to bring his old friends, and his chamber-fellow to such a shame ; but he conjured them to save him and themselves a trouble so disagreeable, by making up matters with their master, and complying with his proposals.

Quis non

Jupiter ! exclamat simul atque audiret ?

I have heard this story more than once from the parties themselves concerned, who, as abandoned as they were thought to be, had yet

yet honour enough to detest this scandalous profanation of the Church's authority.

The project he was then forcing his Fellows to was, at the expence of the College, to double the Revenue of his Mastership, which is otherwise the most valuable one of any in *England*.

I have added in the *Appendix* the Petition from many of his Fellows, which near three years ago was addressed to his Majesty; it is drawn in such modest and general terms, that the Master himself might and ought to have signed it, as he would certainly have done, if he had not been conscious to himself of the *Mal-administration* he is accused of. These are the *Tories* he complains so much of, who beg to throw themselves into the hands of the Bishop of *Ely*, or any other *Visitor* which his Majesty will appoint for them: But it is well known that he has drawn several to his Party, by suggesting the terrors of a visitation; which while the others would fain bring down upon them, he undertook to secure them from. And it is not wondered at, that he has insulted, abused, and treated always as Enemies, those who subscribed the *Petition*, since he knows that a *Visitation* must certainly be fatal to him, and cannot but end in his confusion.

We all know with what arrogance to the University, he lately endeavoured to engross to himself and his College the whole honour of entertaining his Majesty; he will hardly shew such an eagerness to monopolize the *Royal Visitors*, though he can find such entertainment for them, as all the University beside can neither furnish, nor will envy him for.

Besides the complaints of his College, his right to the Professorship will be enquired into by our Visitors; we charge him with an *illegal Seizure*, a *violent Usurpation*, and an *unjustifiable Discharge* of it; the University will demand and insist that this

charge be examined; and it is the opinion of all whom I have ever talked with upon the subject, that his chair must be vacated.

Yet this is the man who pretends to threaten us with a *visitation*, which he has ten times more reason to fear, than any other Member of the University; if any other man can suffer, he is sure to be undone by it; but, like a second *Codrus*, he devotes himself to sure destruction for the good of our *Athens*.

Codrus pro patria non timidus mori.

Or like another *Samson*, if he can but pull the house upon his enemies, he is content to bury himself in the ruins.

*Ash-----*st would now persuade us, that the game *his Master* has been playing was all a *bite* upon the University, all pure art and stratagem, to make himself the glorious instrument of bringing down this *visitation*; he has been defying, contemning and provoking our resentment, to draw us by a rash pursuit of him into this *ambush* prepared for us.

But let them talk whatever they please, he cannot dissemble the dread and concern he is under; he and all his creatures shew the plain symptoms of disappointment and uneasiness.

Hi sunt, qui trepidant.

We have heard nothing lately of his gaiety or his wit, he is become sullen and silent; Dr. *Ash-----*st himself is grown somewhat less impudent; and a certain *smooth* gentleman, so famous for his complaisance

amicum

Mancipium Domino,

has quite lost his *art*, which with some had passed for *nature*;
fer

for mere despair betrays the *genuine rage* of his temper, and instead of *bowing to the ground*, is ready to fly in your face.

Ὅυκ ἐγένεα νῦν κακός, ἀλλ' ἐφάνης.

The way of *visiting religious houses and societies* abroad, is by summoning every particular Member to answer to certain interrogatories; and give an account upon oath, of all they know of any breach of Statutes, abuse of discipline, immorality of their Members, or any thing else, contrary to the honour and design of their foundation.

If this were the method to be observed with us, what good man could apprehend any danger or ill consequence from it? It would be a means of detecting and banishing from amongst us such ill customs, or ill Members, as are found to be a scandal and reproach to us; of which kind, I'll venture to say, the small number of *voters* for the Professor shall furnish more instances, than the great *majority* against him.

But this is a *visitation* which would be very far from answering the purposes, and doing the business of those who talk the loudest, and would seem most to wish for it: For want of virtue and learning, to make themselves esteemed or considerable upon our present model, they hope to gain a reputation by their malice and spite to our establishment; by searching into, and exposing all the little flaws and weaknesses of our institution; and by betraying the privileges, which they have often sworn to defend: They long to see our foundations torn in pieces, our constitution dissolved and new modelled, and our Members put under such new obligations, as are better levelled and adapted to their genius and capacity: This is the only *visitation* they desire, or would thank his Majesty for; this is the only one they now threaten us with; and they have the assurance to use the *great and venerable names* of Archb--ps, L--d Ch--nc--rs, and Min--rs of St--te, as embarked in this design.

Servius

Servius iratus leges minitatur & urnam.

A certain angry Doctor of ours, learned in the Law, had rather, he says, live under the *Great Turk*, than under the power exercised by our Vice-Chancellors; yet he has already spent the best part of his life under it, and is himself an infallible proof of its mildness and lenity: but let him go whenever he pleases, our church will lose no credit by his turning *Mahometan*.

He talks loudly, I hear, in our Coffee-houses, of a letter to him, from a *Great Prelate*, condemning our proceedings in terms as strong as he himself had done: If this were true, it is however a discovery, that he had owned to his *Grace*, what he had denied here to our Vice-Chancellor.

It is now one of his threats to us, that the *Passive Obedience* of the University will soon be put to the trial; which is such a reflection upon the Government, as I hope to see him called to an account for. Whatever has been condemned as extravagant and ridiculous in that *Principle of the Tories*, is a tame submission to our Princes, when acting contrary to the Laws and Constitution of the Realm; a *legal Obedience* is, I hope, a duty of *Whigs* as well as *Tories*: A trial then of our *Passive Obedience* implies necessarily some arbitrary and illegal act of power against us; which is such an impudent suggestion, as no man durst have made, but one so thoughtless, absurd and rash as himself.

alter

Si fecisset idem, caderet sub judice morum.

If these men be friends to *King George*, they are such, I may be bold to say, as do him more mischief, than the worst of his enemies.

In all civilized Nations, Universities or public Seminaries of Learning and Education, have always been cherished and encouraged

raged by *special favours and immunities*, and distinguished by *peculiar privileges*, from all other Corporations whatsoever: This is, but necessary to the end and design of their institution, in which mankind in general has such an interest and advantage.

Our Universities have always been the peculiar care and pride of our Princes; and we may affirm, with much truth, that none ever in Christendom have made such a figure in History, have been so useful to the World, have done so much honour to their founders, so much service as well as credit to their Country, as the two equal Sisters, *Cambridge and Oxford*.

They have neither been *servile* in their compliances with *Courts*, nor *disloyal* in the adherence to their privileges; they have always shewn as much duty and obedience to the *One*, as was consistent with their oaths and obligations to the *Other*; the generous and liberal education found there, gives them a spirit superior to that of other *Bodies Corporate*; and they have in all ages testified a laudable zeal and firmness in defence of their Rights and Liberties:

*quid oportet
Nos facere à vulgo longè latèque remotos?*

The World expects from them a good account and reason of their conduct, and has hardly ever found them unable to justify their *Proceedings*: they are not, like the Monkish Societies, a *Nest of Drones*, but have often been compared to a *Nest of Hornets*, provided with stings for such *B-mtl--ys* as would violate their privileges, and disturb their repose.

King Henry the VIIIth, though so resolute and arbitrary a Monarch, and so impatient of contradiction, was forced to use much art and management, with a good deal of patience and gentleness, before he could bring the Universities to declare for some opinions he had recommended to them: He procured the concurrence of the other foreign Universities of *Europe*, with much less

youth, took the occasion of a Speech he was to make to the Scholars, to abuse publicly and grossly the conduct and discipline of the University.

The subject and purpose of this Speech had always been, to exhort them to *modestly* and *duty* to their *Governors*, to diligence and application in their *Academical Studies*, and to prescribe rules for the regular and orderly performance of their *exercises*: yet this man prostituted his *office* so far, as to make himself the example to them, how they should insult their superiors, by introducing a stupid piece of *Ridicule*, as he thought it, without the least turn of *wit* or *good sense*, and contrary to all decency and custom of those schools. In *plain English*, his *dulness*, if discreetly managed, might have passed perhaps for *gravity*, but the *poor creature* must needs betray himself by aiming at *wit*, and drew the *laugh* upon *himself*, which he had designed for his jest: his conduct is such an offence to our Statutes, as well as to all grave men amongst us, that, while we still have the power, I do not know how to answer its remaining yet uncensured.

From the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, when we were settled upon a new bottom and foundation, made more secure in our *privileges*, and less depending on our Princes, there has not been one instance of a Visitation of the University, to this day, except in the *Great Rebellion* under *Cromwell*, when our form and discipline was new-modelled to the humour of the times; and the *Loyalists*, the *Malignants* of those days, ejected from their *Fellowships*; there were twenty Fellows, I think, of this kind expelled then from *Trinity College*, which the *Master* would now fain make a precedent for about the same number of his *Tory Petitioners*.

In King *James* the II'd's time, the brave struggle which both Universities made for their *Rights* and *Liberties* will be remembered in all History to their honour; it was of the utmost service to the *Church of England*, and the greatest blow and obstacle to the

the designs of the *Papists*: And the *high Proceedings of the Court* against us were more *odious* to the *People*, more *fatal* to the *Prince*, more *effectual* towards bringing about the *Revolution* than all the other violent measures of this unhappy King.

With the change then made in the *Succession* and *Settlement of the Crown*, the liberty and property of the Subject obtained also a new Settlement and Security. We have now a Right to maintain and defend them, by Laws which cannot be suspended but by the authority which enacted them; no *Power* less than the *Legislative* can deprive us of them; our Courts of Justice are open to the meanest Subject to contest them, even with his Sovereign: the grievances and arbitrary methods of former Reigns, particularly *those* relating to the *Universities*, were then represented and redressed, and our Princes since this time have been willing for our ease and quiet to remit to us every dubious and disputable point of their Prerogative: these are the *Principles of the Revolution* so much talked of, and it is by these only, that we desire to possess and enjoy what belongs to us.

Yet, as if the reverse of all this were true, as if the *Revolution* had thrown us back from a State of *Liberty* into *Slavery*, we are now threatened by many of our noisy, forward Members; that our *Privileges* and *Charters*, granted by our *Kings* and confirmed by *Parliament*, under which our Universities have so long flourished to the envy and admiration of *Europe*, will, with little difficulty and ceremony, be voided and dissolved, because a *B-nl-y* has been punished by them, or a *J-hn-f-n* is obnoxious and afraid of them.

These creatures are silly enough to imagine, that the precedents of *Visitations* in *Edward VIth* and *Queen Mary's* days relating to *Papists* and *Protestants* in the University are applicable to the present circumstances of our *Whigs* and *Tories*: if they can make us pass for *Tories*, the business they think is done, and because there

may be some few amongst us (as there are every where else) whose *Loyalty* may be questioned, they roundly charge us all with *Disaffection to the Government*; and if there is any thing we have ever done, which they can wrest and misrepresent to their purpose, they take no notice of the many clear proofs and undeniable instances of our *Zeal* and good *Affections*: they deal with the University as *Sharppers load their Dice*, to bring their *high Throws* always uppermost, and keep the *low ones* out of play.

Perrarò hæc alea fallit.

But let them search into our Statutes for the crime and punishment of these invidious *Denominations*; let them enquire in *Westminster-hall* for the penalty and forfeiture of being a *Whig* or a *Tory*; like the *ancient Greeks*, let us send to the *Oracles of that venerable Pile*, and let our *Fate* be determined by the *Answer* they return us.

If Mr. *Bentley* indeed has a mind to be tried upon the foot of a *Tory*, we will readily join issue, and find proof enough to convict him; especially if Dr. *Ast*——— would but turn evidence against him, as I am confident he will, when the Court has once dropped him; this *sole Favourite* of his, though he has taken the *Oaths* himself, yet for the respect he declares for *Nonjurors*, has taken withal a *Resolution* never to accept any fees from them, and he hopes, as he says, that the *one* will atone for the *other*; but I know how he will come off from this, by telling us that it was in pure zeal to King *George*, that he insinuated himself into their favour; it being the surest way of destroying his enemies by making himself *their Physician*.

While some writers are now labouring to shew the hardship and injustice of subjecting people to any *Tests* or *Civil Incapacities* for *Opinions* even in *Religion*, our charitable enemies can think it reasonable to deprive us even of *Freeholds* for *Notions* merely *speculative*.

The

The *Parliament* has just now quieted the fears of the *City of London*, by a bill brought in on purpose to exempt them from the penalties of a *certain Law* which they had neglected as *obsolete* : And can we believe, that *our Corporation*, which is more securely established than any other in the Kingdom, will be made liable to any forfeitures for what *no Law* has made *penal* ? Our *Charters and Privileges* are the *Property* of the University, which cannot be taken from us but by the *same Power* and for the *same Reasons*, that any other *Body Corporate* in *England* may be disfranchised, or any private man's property seized and alienated.

In the first speech which his *Majesty* made to his Council upon his happy *Accession to the Crown*, he was pleased, as I remember, to observe, that the good effects of our *Property* being secured to us, were in no other nation of the world so visible as in this of ours : And in the *gracious Answers* which he has since made to the *Addresses* of this University, he has repeated to us the assurance of his *Royal Protection* in our special rights and privileges. This, one would think, should be sufficient to confound the insolence of our *Praters*, who make no scruple to talk in public, what is criminal even to imagine. But though a *B---ntl---y*, a *J---hns---n*, or an *Ash---st* be never so impudent ; though this *Religious Divine* should make it a point of *Conscience and Duty* to reform us ; though this *Civilian* give it for *Law*, that our *Privileges* are a *Grievance* ; though this *Physician* subscribe an *Opinion*, that the University wants *Physick*, we shall still rest easy and secure in the *Justice of our Cause*, and the *Word of his Majesty*.

Let our *Visitors* then come whenever they please ; the University, I dare say, has not been, since the *Reformation*, in better order and disposition to receive them than at this day : In so many members as compose this body of ours, *human Frailty* must needs display itself in several instances amongst us ; in such a number of youth as is committed to our care, some, few extravagances, some offences

may be some few amongst us (as there are every where else) whose *Loyalty* may be questioned, they roundly charge us all with *Disaffection to the Government*; and if there is any thing we have ever done, which they can wrest and misrepresent to their purpose, they take no notice of the many clear proofs and undeniable instances of our *Zeal* and good *Affections*: they deal with the University as *Sharper's* load their *Dice*, to bring their *high Throws* always uppermost, and keep the *low ones* out of play.

Perrard hæc alca fallit.

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offences to our statutes and discipline must sometimes be committed.

Unus & alter

Forſitan hæc ſpernant Juvenes.

But they are never ſooner detected than chaſtiſed. Let our *Senior Proſtor*, who is ſo forward to accuſe us, diſcover, if he pleaſes, to the world all the corruption and debauchery he has found out, ſince his coming into office ; let him ſay what irregularities he has complained of, which have not been puniſhed ; and whether our *Discipline* be not regularly, conſtantly, and equally adminiſtered.

If there is any *Breach of Statutes* amongſt us, it is of ſuch only as have out-laſted the end and deſign of their inſtitution, and are no longer applicable to any good uſe and purpoſe.

If there are any of our members under any censure, diſgrace, or diſcredit with us, they are ſuch only, whoſe ill lives are a reproach to us, or who are profeſſed enemies to our *Conſtitution and Eſtabliſhment* ; who commit the *infamous Parricide* of deſtroying the *Mother* that has brought them up, and to whoſe care and indulgence they owe all the credit and merit they pretend to.

Interimis matremque veneno,

Incolumi capite es ?

If there have been any inſinuations of our *Diſloyalty and Diſaffection to the Government*, they will be found *false and frivolous*, without any juſt ground or foundation. We are ready to give every proof of the contrary, to anſwer every *Teſt* of our *Loyalty*, which the *Law* has required ; and more, I ſuppoſe, will not be expected from us.

Domus hæc nec purior ulla eſt,

Nec magis his aliena malis.

But

But if it were possible to be true, which it is hardly so to imagine ; and the University was to suffer all that her enemies now threaten her with ; she could never hope to fall with more honour, than in the *Cause* she is now engaged in, *fighting* for her *Privileges* and her *Discipline*.

A P P E N D I X.

I Shall make no remarks upon the following *Petition* of the Master of *Trinity*, nor the Vice-Chancellor's *Answer*, since they both lie before the Council ; nor would I indeed have printed them, but that a copy of the *Petition* had long been exposed in all our Coffee-houses, and is common in every body's hands ; and the *Answer* was produced, and argued from, publicly in the Vice-Chancellor's court, by the Master's *Proctor Lisle*, in a late cause he was engaged in.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY in Council.

The humble Petition of Richard Bentley, D. D. Master of Trinity-College, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Petitioner was made Master of *Trinity College*, aforesaid, by his Majesty King *William* the III^d of glorious Memory ; That your Majesty's Royal Predecessor founded the Regius Professorship ; and, That your Petitioner was *duly elected thereunto*, and did afterwards peaceably exercise the office ; That the Reverend Dr. *Gooch*, the present Vice-Chancellor, in a Cause depending before him, under a pretence of certain contempts, committed by your Petitioner, did, with six Assessors, especially called to that end, (*viz.*) the Reverend Dr. *Covel*, Dr. *Ashton*,

Dr.

Dr. Laney, Dr. Adams, Dr. Jenkins, and Dr. Grigg, suspend your Petitioner from all Degrees in the University, without hearing your Petitioner, or *summoning him to that purpose*: And upon that suspension, the said Vice-Chancellor afterwards, (*viz.*) out of Court, did totally obstruct your Petitioner in the execution of his office, as Regius Professor; That afterwards the said Vice-Chancellor called a Congregation of the University, and the same being assembled, proposed a Grace to the *Caput* for degrading your Petitioner for the *aforesaid pretended Contempt*, and Dr. Otway, one of the *Caput*, being *suspected of not having taken the Oaths* to your Majesty, Dr. Askenbush and Mr. Bull, two Members of the said Congregation, demanded of the Vice-Chancellor, who is a Justice of the Peace, that *the Vice-Chancellor, with Dr. Laney, another Justice of the Peace also present*, should tender the Oaths to the said Dr. Otway, before he gave his vote as one of the said *Caput*; but the Vice-Chancellor refused so to do, with threats to the said Dr. Askenbush, that he would *take care of him*, or to that effect; and permitted the said Dr. Otway to vote, and the Grace passed the *Caput*; and the said Grace being read to the Congregation, it there passed by a majority: whereby your Petitioner stands degraded, and excluded from all Degrees in the said University. That the said proceedings being *unjustifiable and illegal*, tending to the *Confusion of the Methods of Justice in the University*, to the *Disquiet of the same*, and to the *Support of Disaffection to your Majesty's Person and Government*, your Petitioner doth most humbly apply to your Majesty, as the supreme Visitor of your own University.

Your Petitioner therefore doth most humbly beseech your Majesty, to hear your Petitioner's Case; and to give such Relief in the Premises, as to your Royal Justice and Wisdom shall seem meet: And your Petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

At the Court at St. James's the 30th of October, 1718.

The KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY in Council.

His Majesty in Council taking the said Petition into consideration,

tion, is pleased to order the same to be sent to the Reverend Dr. Gooch Vice-Chancellor; who is thereby directed to attend his Majesty in Council on *Thursday* next, being the 6th of *November*, at twelve of the Clock, at St. *James's*, and give an account of the proceedings which have occasioned this complaint.

To the KING'S Most Excellent MAJESTY in Council.

An Account of the Proceedings against the Reverend the Master of Trinity College in the University of Cambridge, most humbly presented, in obedience to your Majesty's Commands, by Thomas Gooch Vice-Chancellor of the said University.

AT a Court holden the 3d of *October* in the Consistory of the said University, in a Cause between *Conyers Middleton*, Doctor in Divinity, and the said Master of *Trinity*, for a debt claimed as due from the said Master to the said Dr. *Middleton*, who appeared personally, and constituted Mr. *Cook* his *Proctor*. The return of the Decree, which before had been issued against the said Master, being called for, and the said Master not appearing, the Register of the Court exhibited the Beadle's deposition taken upon oath, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed, which being read, Mr. *Cook*, *Proctor* for Dr. *Middleton*, alledged to the Court, that the said Master was in contempt, and prayed that he might be suspended for the same. Whereupon the said Vice-Chancellor, with the consent of his *Assessors*, did pronounce the said Master suspended from all Degrees in the said University, which is a legal punishment provided for such contempt.

He the said Vice-Chancellor apprehended then, and does still apprehend, that such his proceedings were according to the ancient and ordinary method of the court; and that such non-appearance of the said Master, was a contumacy and contempt to the court; and he is informed, such proceeding is agreeable to the rules and practice of all courts of the like nature, where there is no process known to call persons to be heard, in order to punish the contempt of a former process.

He the said Vice-Chancellor held three courts after the suspension, for no other purpose, but to give the said Master an opportunity of appearing, in order to the being discharged from his suspension.

The first court was held on *Tuesday, October* the 17th.

The second on *Thursday, October* the 19th. At which court the Master not appearing, nothing was done.

The third court was held on *Wednesday, October* the 25th.

Before the Vice-Chancellor.

ASSESSORS.

Dr. Cozel,	Dr. Adams,
Dr. Balderston,	Dr. Jenkins,
Dr. Fisher,	Dr. Sherlock,
Dr. Laney,	Dr. Grigg,

Whereas the Master of *Trinity* not appearing, the Vice-Chancellor took time to deliberate, how the authority of the University might be preserved and maintained. And this was all the business done in this third court.

The Vice-Chancellor did take the advice of all the Heads then present in the University (the Master of *Trinity* only excepted) who, considering that the several steps taken by the Vice-Chancellor's authority, had been without effect, were of opinion, that the said Master's behaviour, in contempt of the University, was proper to be laid before a congregation of the University, together with a Grace for his degradation.

A congregation was called on *Friday* morning, *October* the 27th.

The

The Vice-Chancellor proposed the Grace to the *Caput*, who are select persons appointed to consider what is proper to come before the body; each of them having a *Negative* upon every Grace proposed by the Vice-Chancellor, the only person that can propose any to them.

The Grace was, without any difficulty or scruple made, approved by the *Caput*.

In the same congregation it was published in both houses, after which the Vice-Chancellor continued the congregation to the afternoon. In the second meeting of the congregation the Grace was again read and voted in both houses.

It passed in the Regent-House,	{ <i>Placets</i>	40
	{ <i>Non Placets</i>	15
It passed likewise in the Non-Regent	{ <i>Placets</i>	62
House,	{ <i>Non Placets</i>	35

A Copy of the said Grace is hereunto annexed.

The said Grace is a Decree of the University, and the only proceeding remaining with effect, upon the reverend the Master of *Trinity*. And that whereby he stands degraded and excluded from all degrees, titles, and rights in the said University, which is the only present subject of his complaint, the suspension being sunk in the degradation.

The said Vice-Chancellor humbly conceives, that he is not personally accountable for an act of the body corporate of the University of *Cambridge*, whereof he is but one member.

Whereas it is objected in the petition of the Master of *Trinity*, That he the said Vice-Chancellor did totally obstruct the said Master in the execution of his office as *Regius Professor* :

He the said Vice-Chancellor (not intending hereby to admit, that the said Master is legally possessed of the said Professorship) answereth :

That after the suspension, the said Master of *Trinity* did attempt to preach a *Latin* sermon in the University Church.

That the said attempt was a contempt of the jurisdiction of the court, the said Master well knowing, that no persons under suspension can preach in the University Church.

That the execution of his office was the thing least in his thoughts, it being notorious, that another person was provided to do that office, and that the said Master had no intention to preach in person, till he had notice of his suspension.

And whereas it is objected in the said Petition, That Dr. *Otway*, one of the *Caput*, being suspected of not having taken the Oaths to Your Majesty, Dr. *Askenbush* and Mr. *Bull*, two Members of the congregation, demanded of the Vice-Chancellor, who is a Justice of the Peace, That the Vice-Chancellor, with Dr. *Laney*, another Justice of the Peace then present, should tender the Oaths to the said Dr. *Otway*, before he gave his Vote as one of the said *Caput* ; but the Vice-Chancellor refused so to do.

He the said Vice-Chancellor answereth :

That he sat in the said Congregation in the capacity of Vice-Chancellor, and as such had no authority to tender the Oaths to the said Dr. *Otway*. That he never knew nor heard of any persons acting as a Justice of the Peace in the congregation of the University.

He denies that Dr. *Askenbush* and Mr. *Bull*, or either of them, did apply to him as a Justice of the Peace, or that they or either

of them mentioned to him or applied to Dr. *Laney* as another Justice then present, to join with him in tendering the Oaths.

That Dr. *Otway* was in the *Caput* pursuant to the Statute, as Senior of his faculty then present, the Member of the *Caput* for that faculty elected for the present year being absent, and he the said Dr. *Otway* had a Right to vote, from which the Vice-Chancellor could not exclude him. That the very day before, (*viz.*) *October* the 16th, Dr. *Askenbush* and Dr. *Otway* were in the *Caput* together, but then no objection was made; and Dr. *Otway* was a standing Member of the *Caput* all last year, but no objection was made all that time against his acting in that capacity, though Dr. *Askenbush* and Mr. *Bull* were all that time Members of the Congregation, as was also the Master of *Trinity*.

In justice to the said Dr. *Otway*, he the said Vice-Chancellor begs leave to add, that he is very well assured, that the said Dr. *Otway* is ready upon any proper occasion to take the Oaths to your Majesty. And in answer to the suggestion of the said Master's Petition relating to himself, he the said Vice-Chancellor saith, that he is conscious to himself of an hearty zeal for your Majesty's service, of which he has given undoubted evidence, as well before as since your happy Accession to the Crown of these Kingdoms; and there is nothing he should be better pleased with, than to have the complaint against him made the occasion of your Majesty's enquiry into his conduct in that respect.

He humbly presumes to hope that your Majesty will receive the present account with all favourable allowance, considering the shortness of time he had to prepare it.

Your Majesty's most dutiful, and

Most obedient Subject and Servant.

To

To the KING's most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humble Petition of many of the Fellows and Members of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in the Town and University of Cambridge, of King Henry the Eighth's Foundation,

Sheweth,

THAT by the forty-sixth Chapter of the Statutes, by which the said College was at first governed, given by your Majesty's Royal Predecessor King *Edward* the Sixth, of blessed Memory, the Lord Bishop of *Ely*, for the time being, was appointed Ordinary Visitor of the same. But in latter Statutes, given by your Majesty's Royal Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth*, of like blessed and glorious Memory, (by which only the College hath been ever since governed) the said forty-sixth Chapter is wholly omitted, and yet, as your Petitioners humbly conceive, is plainly referred to in the fortieth Chapter of these latter Statutes, the said Lord Bishop of *Ely* being there styled *The Visitor*. All which will appear from copies of both those Chapters hereunto annexed. The which omission and reference, by making it uncertain how far the power of the said Lord Bishop doth extend, have occasioned many great inconveniencies, through a long disuse of regular Visitations *which Founders of Colleges have always thought necessary for the maintenance of good discipline*; and the want of some person of undoubted authority, to whom the several Members of the said College might, upon urgent occasions, apply themselves for the redress of Grievances, and a speedy compofure of such differences as may arise, and of late years have arisen, among them, concerning their respective Rights and Privileges; but remain still undetermined, to the great disquiet of the College, the present Lord Bishop of *Ely* forbearing to interpose his authority, till such time as his Right to the ordinary visitatorial power shall be declared.

Wherefore your Petitioners humbly pray, That your most excellent Majesty, as Royal Successor to the Founder of the said

said College, will graciously please to ascertain the Visitatorial Power, either by a new Grant, or Confirmation of it to the said Lord Bishop ; or else by authorising such persons to execute the same as to your Royal Wisdom shall seem meet.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

A Clause of an Act of Parliament, confirming the Queen's Letters Patents to the University, in respect of their Privileges.

Tenor Actus Parliamenti.

And be it so enacted, &c. As the Letters Patents of the Queen's Majesty aforesaid, granted to the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of the said University of *Cambridge*, bearing date as is aforesaid ; and other Letters Patents by any of the Progenitors or Predecessors of her Highness ; and all manner of Liberties, Franchises, Immunities, Quietances and Privileges, Lytes and Law-Days, and other things whatsoever therein expressed, given or granted, to the same Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of either of the said Universities, or to any of their Predecessors, or either of the Universities, by whatsoever name the said Chancellors, Masters, and Scholars, of either of the said Universities, in any of the said Letters Patents be named, BE, and by virtue of this present Act, shall be from henceforth ratified, established, and confirmed unto the said Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars, of either of the said Universities ; and to their Successors for ever ; any Statute, Law, Usage, Custom, Construction, or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

SOME
REMARKS
UPON A
PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED,

*The Case of Dr. Bentley farther Stated and
Vindicated, &c.*

Wherein the Merit of the Author and his Performance, and the
Complaint of Proctor *Laughton*, are briefly considered.

*Qui magis hoc Lucilio licuerit assumere libertatis, quam Nobis? Cum etiam si
odio par fuerit in eos quos læsit, tamen certè non magis dignos habuerit in
quos tantà verborum libertate incurreret.*

Cic. Epist.

S O M E

R E M A R K S, &c.

WHEN the *Full and Impartial Account of our late Proceedings* was first published, the friends of Mr. Bentley gave out presently that it would certainly be the occasion of a new controversy, and must be answered; it was at that time generally expected, that the Professor, who is such an allowed Master of colouring, would have found something plausible at least to have amused the World withal, some specious colours to have taken off the glaring light of those truths affirmed against him.

But upon the most *critical* sifting of the performance, it was found too true in every part of it to be answered, every fact had undeniable vouchers to support it, and was too well known in the University to give him any advantage by denying it: If the case had been otherwise, it is not possible to imagine that he could have suffered an *Account of a Proceeding*, in which his reputation is so much concerned, to have passed upon the World under the Title of *Impartial*, if he could have found any means of impeaching its veracity, or blasting its credit.

The *Critic* could have played with an Adversary through twice as much *Latin* or *Greek*; but *plain English*, we see, quite silences and confounds him.

The insolence and menaces of some of his friends soon made a farther vindication of ourselves necessary; we were threatened and

terrified with nothing less than the *loss* of all our *Privileges* and *Immunities*, and by such of our Members as pretended to be perfectly informed of the Counsels and Resolutions of the *Great Ones* above: This gave occasion to the Second Part of the *Full Account*, that those, whoever they were, who had such designs against us, might see however that we would not be smothered in the dark, but that the World should be acquainted in *what Cause*, for *what Reasons*, and by *what Hands* we fell.

It was then believed, that some of the Doctors, whose characters are touched in this second Part, would have taken the opportunity of shewing the grounds and reasons of their zeal and animosity against us, and how necessarily they were provoked to it, by our unjust and barbarous treatment of the Professor.

This had been a task becoming gentlemen so *worthy* and *learned* in the account of a late author: The defence of one's own, or friend's reputation, being not only a laudable employment, but a duty upon every one who is able.

amicum

Qui non defendit alio culpante——

Hic niger est——

But the truth of the matter is, that however these gentlemen may complain of me *in private*, they do not care that the *Public* should be informed how much they are all obliged to me for the tenderness and regard I had shewn their reputations, and that it had been easier for me, when they fell in my way, to have wrote a Book upon each of them, than to have dismissed them in a paragraph.

And I here declare that it was not out of any private *Pique* or *Resentment* (as has been scandalously insinuated) or to revenge any particular Quarrel of my own, that I have made so free with any body's character; but out of the just abhorrence and indignation

nation which I have always freely declared against the *base and scandalous practices of some*, and the *criminal compliances, and slavish obsequiousness of others*.

Scilicet uni æquus virtuti, atque ejus amicis.

About the time of publishing my *Second Piece*, we received at Cambridge a Pamphlet entitled, *The Case of Dr. Bentley truly stated*, &c. and some time afterwards another, called, *The Case farther stated*, &c.

It was to little purpose for the author to conceal his name, for every soul who could get through a page or two, cried out presently, it must be *S---kes*.

Ubi ubi est, diu celari non potest.

Nature, which in kindness to the World has set a mark upon his countenance, has given us *infallible ones* of his productions.

Where-ever you find a writer *surprizingly trifling and dull, glorying in never being in the right* [a], *discovering an antipathy to Church and University* [b], *with a special malice to Dr. Sh----* [c] the principal *Champion and Ornament* of both, *there's your man*; pronounce it to be *S---kes*; you need not be afraid of counterfeits. When the Work is too foul and scandalous for any other man to engage in, *S---kes* is a sure card that never fails his friend in distress.

Cum nemini obtrudi potest, itur ad me.

He always keeps himself in readiness for service; and like a famous Lawyer I have heard of, can be *Advocate or Evidence*, as occasion requires; and, as a *true Dragoon*, fights either a foot or on horseback. It has been wondered at by some, how a man,

[a] Vid. *Case farther stated*, p. 16.

[b] Ibid.

[c] *Case truly stated*, p. 21.

who had no relation to or business in the University, no particular acquaintance or friendship with the Professor, could, out of pure love to wrangling, thrust himself into a controversy, which he had not the least concern in.

But there is, it must be owned, another good reason very obvious; his friend *A---s* had been roughly handled by me; and that was touching him in a tender part; there his own *Character* was nearly concerned; for if *Tale-bearing* and *Informing* could once be brought into discredit and contempt, his business was done at once, and all his *Parts* and *Talents* made useless and un-serviceable.

A---s and *S---kes* are terms convertible, that have always signified the same thing in the University.

Par nobile Fratrum

Nequitia & nugis, pravorum & amore gemellum.

Their Names are *Proverbs* in every College, to give at once a full and adequate idea of a *Disturber of the Peace of the Society*, and an *Accuser of his Brethren*.

A---s when he was caught the other day alone and without leave in the *Vice-Chancellor's House*, and in the absence of the family, set the whole University a thinking and talking of *Young's Plot* upon the late *Bishop of Rochester*.

But *S---kes* may one day arrive at the more glorious character of a *Dr. Oates* or *Dr. Tongue*, men famous in their generations, and recorded to all posterity as the Deliverers of their Country from Popery and Slavery.

Our author having offered nothing new upon the merits of this controversy, nothing but what has already been fully answered,

swered, I shall not be provoked by him to say any thing more upon the Subject.

I shall but just observe, that this fee of four Guineas, which was the ground and occasion of all this squabble, was not, as this author has given an account of it, claimed only by our Professor upon *honorary* and *extraordinary Degrees*, and an encroachment common on such occasions to many others in the University, but it was insisted upon, and actually *extorted the commencement before*, from *regular Degrees*; with design and resolution to make it a *stated ordinary Fee*, where the *rest of our officers* have always been and ever must be, content with their *statutable Groats and Shillings*: But the only thing that S----kes and I are agreed in, is that the World has had enough, perhaps too much, of B----ly and his Cause; he has been the employment of more Pens, the subject of more Books, than any other Hero in History: His character puts me in mind of that in the Poet.

Famofique Lupo cooperto versibus.

and his Picture may be drawn, like that of the *Man in the Almanack*, stuck quite round with darts,

I shall leave him therefore to those comfortable reflections which a *good Cause* always inspire, and to please himself with despising those *poor Souls*, as he calls them [d], who have not Faith to believe the constant assurances he sends his friends of a *speedy Restoration* and *Triumph* over the University.

Our author, in his *Case farther stated*, makes himself very merry (p. 13.) with what I have said of the *Loyalty* of the Universities; that it has always been as great as was consistent with their *Oaths* and *Obligations* to their *Statutes*; he had been canting

[d] In a late Letter to a Friend.

all the late Reign upon the *Duty of Resistance*, and the *natural Rights* of Subjects, superior even to *positive Laws*; but now 'tis a mighty Jest with him, that any *particular Privileges*, or *private Oaths* should be alledged as an excuse or exception to our obedience.

To insist upon our *Rights* and *Liberties*, is with him to *bestor* and *bully* the Government; and because, as he says, (p. 15.) we have been able to *frighten some of our bigotted Princes*, we conclude *that we can terrify King George too*.

King *James II.* was the only *bigotted Prince* who ever made any open attempts to subvert the *Constitution of the University*, by modelling it to the purposes and designs of Popery; but his *Bigottry* is not to be inferred, it seems, from these *Violences* of his, but from his *Cowardice*, in suffering himself to be baffled and disappointed in the execution of them. But King *George*, according to this author, is to shew himself no *Bigot*, but the reverse of this *Predecessor* of his, not in leaving us to the quiet enjoyment of our *Charters* and *Immunities*, but in not being moved or terrified, as he styles it, from what he has resolved in regard to us, by any *Spirit* or *Remonstrances* of the University.

I have heard of an *Engineer*, who declared some time ago in a Coffee-house, that it was so much the business of his life and profession to *obey Orders*, that if his Prince should command him to undermine and blow up the Nation, he should think himself obliged to execute it immediately.

Our *Ecclesiastical Engineer* has, we find, the same notion of duty with this *military one*, and for the least word of King *George* would not scruple to *blow up Church and University* in an instant; it would be in vain to think of holding his hand, he would tell us, as he does here, that his *Principle* was that generous one of
public

public good, that particular calls and obligations were no rules or measures of obedience for him.

But whatever contemptible opinion he may have of *University Loyalty*, or whatever high notions of the *Power* of a *Court*, yet while there are honest men in *England*, there will be always some things which a *King* and *his Ministry* cannot do; it will always be out of their power to make an honest man turn *Advocate* for a *B——ly* or a ——, to make him believe that there is either *Truth* or *Sense* in the writings of the *one*, or *Virtue* or *Honour* in the practices of the *other*; it will never be possible for them, with the bribe of a *Living*, to make him write like *S——es*; or by making him Court Chaplain, act like ——

This worthy writer insinuates (p. 17.) that he has got a *long* *U—— of Poets*, to be published some time or other against the *U——*. But as this has been a *Work* of much *Industry* and *moderation*, the whole employment and fruit of all his studies among the *poets*, he designs, I presume, to print it by subscription, as soon as he can meet with proper encouragement. In the mean while, as a *Specimen* of the merit and value of his *Collection*, he produces at present four *Cases*, all of them the product of one fruitful year, viz. Professor *Bentley's*, Mr. *Brooke's*, Mr. *Bull's*, and the Bishop of *Carlisle's*; each of which is sufficient to prove to the world our great *Injustice* and *Partiality*.

He makes the Vice-Chancellor's conduct in the case of Mr. *Brooke* to be a confutation of the legality of his proceedings in that of the *Professor*; (p. 10.) for every step, he tells us, that was taken against the *one*, was reversed in the process against the *other*. Mr. *Brooke*, he says, was three times summoned, but never would appear; the *Proctor* against him alledged him to be in *Contempt*; all other Judges would have thought him so, but the Vice-Chancellor would neither suspend him, nor punish him at all.

Now this whole account is entirely false and groundless, for Mr. *Brooke* did actually appear in person upon the *first Summons*; I myself saw him in court, heard him petition the Judge for leave to constitute a Proctor; the reasons he assigned for it were thought good and admitted, and he accordingly retained Mr. *Lisle*: And it is what he complains of as a hardship, that even after this liberty allowed to him, he could not still get himself excused from a *personal Appearance*: The only end and design of this prosecution was to deprive him of his *Library Keeper's Place*, in which he found himself so pushed, as to have no way left of preventing it, but by a resignation.

The Vice-Chancellor has ever since been much clamoured against by Mr. *Brooke* and some of his friends, for the severity of this proceeding against him; but the character of this gentleman, as a *Nonjuror* to the Government, made it convenient for our author to persuade the world, that a wonderful tenderness and regard had been shewn to his particular case; that the Vice-Chancellor had acted against him with the utmost regret, full sore against his judgment and inclination, and had not the heart at last even to *punish him at all*.

Which though *S—kes* himself knows to be false, 'tis no matter for that, his book, he hopes, may fall into some hands not enough acquainted with the University, as to be able to inform themselves better, or so much strangers to his character, as to have no notion of an *Author so prostitute*, as to forge and invent at pleasure whatever he finds useful to his purpose.

As to Mr. *Bull*, whose case is objected here to the Vice-Chancellor, he was sued in our court in an action of defamation, for some words he had spoken, highly reflecting upon a very ingenious and worthy person, a Fellow of his own College, and at that time Proctor of the University: The words were clearly
and

and undeniably proved ; and the Vice-Chancellor, who did not condemn him till after a full and long hearing of all sides, shewed him, as he himself has owned, all the favour and civility that the case would bear.

Mr. Bull, as is allowed by our statutes, appealed to *Delegates of the Body*, who confirmed the sentence against him ; but he has since been made *Chaplain to his Majesty*, and it is inserted, as 'tis generally reported, very particularly and unusually in his *Warrant*, that he succeeds to the very *Place* of our Vice-Chancellor, a *Promotion* so far from putting the University out of *Humour*, that every soul amongst us makes himself merry with it ; but it is a demonstration, I find, with Mr. *S—kes*, that he must have been injured here, because he has been preferred at Court.

The Bishop of *Carlisle's* case is this : Several Fellows of *Bennet College*, where he is now Master, looked upon themselves as aggrieved, by a *Præ-election* to a *Fellowship* which he had lately made there : They complained of the unusual and clandestine manner in which it was managed, without the consent of the greatest part of the Fellows, where, contrary to custom, the absent ones had not any summons to attend, or even all the resident ones any notice of the design ; but four only out of twelve concurring with the Master, chose his own Son into the next vacancy that should happen.

While the complaint and appeal of the Fellows was actually depending, the Master made two *Præ-elections* more after the same manner.

Præ-elections, 'tis true, had been common and frequent in this College, but being, properly speaking, irregular and unstatutable, they were for that reason transacted always in the most open manner, and supposed to require a fuller consent and concurrence of the society, than regular and ordinary elections.

But this method of *making Fellows* introduced by his Lordship, was at that time generally looked upon as altogether *new* and *arbitrary*, and a *dangerous Precedent* in the University.

The Fellows appealed to the Vice-Chancellor, as the *Visitor* appointed them by their statutes, who accepted the appeal, and undertook the cause, in which he did no more than what every honest man and good magistrate would in his case have found himself obliged to, in duty to his office, and justice to the complainants.

By a charter of King *James I.* the Chancellor of the University is made the *Visitor* of every College, where a *special one* has not been constituted by the *Founder*. When some mention was made of appealing to him, the Bishop declared against his authority and jurisdiction, because *special Visitors* were actually appointed by their statutes, *viz.* the Vice-Chancellor, with the two senior Doctors of the University; yet when these *special Visitors* had resolved and were preparing to act, he appealed against their power and right of visiting to the King in Council, whence an *Inhibition* was soon sent down upon them, and the dispute has since been determined there to the satisfaction of the Master.

But to demonstrate once for all what a want of discipline and good order there is in the University, our author makes here a discovery to the World, that the present Vice-Chancellor *Dr. Gooch*, who is so severe upon the Professor, and *Dr. Middleton* the Profecutor of him, are after all the *only persons* who deserve the censures and animadversion of the University.

This is supported by the *complaint of a Proctor*, dated July 3d, 1710, now printed with much pomp, and subscribed *Richard Laughton, Proctor senior*.

The account I had received of this old story's being revived and published here, was the only reason that could make me read or regard any thing that S---kes had wrote ; it was to come at *this*, that gave me the patience to wade through all the dirt which he had thrown in the way to it ; it is not in the power of S---kes to give me the least uneasiness or disturbance.

Men' moveat Cimex Pantilius ?

He can raise no passion of mine but that of mirth or contempt : But Dr. *Laughton* indeed has something to stake upon a controversy, has some reputation to lose, if indecently or unjustly he attacks that of others ; which I shall easily prove to be the case of this *Complaint* of his, *false* in many passages of it, and *misrepresented* in all.

How will he justify to the world the dispersing, as he will own he did, among *Bishops* and *other great men*, many *written Copies* of *this Manifesto* ? Where the story, as he has represented it, could have no other possible effect, than to bring *Scandal* upon the University, gain *Reputation*, perhaps *Preferment* to himself, and *injure* others probably in *both*.

But to examine this account of his a little more particularly. One of the persons whom he found in this company at the *Rose*, appeared, he says, *to have drank to great excess by the Tone and Accent of his Voice*, &c. This he pretends to have observed at his first coming amongst them, when yet at their parting about two hours afterwards, the whole reckoning amounted only to eighteenpence a piece, out of which, besides what was given away, some part was reserved and carried off unspent.

Another, he tells us, *was sitting indecently without either his Gown or Cassock on, though he be in Priest's Orders*: Would not any man imagine from this description of his, that this Clergyman had

had stripped himself to his Waistcoat to drink with more ease and coolness in a warm summer's evening? Yet there was nothing more in it than this, that having been to take the air on horseback, he came into company just as he alighted from his horse, in a riding habit, and with boots and spurs on.

When the Proctor first drew up this complaint in writing, he found it proper to pass over in silence such of the company, whose *Names* would effectually have demonstrated his *Rudeness*; and in this printed edition of it, the *names*, for some special reasons, are dwindled only to two, *viz.* Mr. Gooch of Caius College, and Mr. Middleton of Trinity College. One of these is at present Vice-Chancellor of the University, whose character is too well known in the world to want any vindication; who has joined the accomplishment of a Gentleman to those of a Scholar; who with all the proper Gravity and Severity of the one, knows how to practise and allow every liberty which becomes the other; whose Magistracy has taught us what difference there is between Discipline and Pedantry, Reformation and ill Manners.

The other, who from this Representation of him, might pass probably enough for a Haunter of Taverns, a Lover of Wine and Debauch, has always been remarkable and exemplary in the University for the strictest Temperance and Regularity of life.

These are the rude and disorderly persons he complains of; these are the Men whose ill Lives, according to Master S——kes, are a Reproach to us.

But these gentlemen however are much obliged to him for the opportunity he has given of informing the world, that they had the honour to be found by him at this time in company with the present Earl of Anglesey, who was then the shining Ornament of the House of Commons, as he has since been of the House of Lords; a person much more distinguished by his great Parts and Abilities, than

than by his *high Birth* and *Quality*; whose *Friendship* and *Conversation* have always been the ambition and delight of the *greatest* and *politest* in the kingdom; and whose *Name* and *Education* amongst us will be remembered to all posterity as the *Honour* and *Glory* of this Univerſity.

There were beſides in this company ſome others of *great Quality* and *Character*; the *Honourable Mr. Windſor*, Member of Parliament for the Univerſity; *Sir J. Cotton, Bart.* Member of Parliament for the Town, with Doctōrs and Maſters of Arts. This was the company when this *zealous Reformer* came bolting into the room, about ten at night, with as *much Authority* and as *little Ceremony*, as if he had ſurprized a Club of *Sizers* or *Freſhmen*; he *required them to be gone*, declared he would not ſtir, till he had ſeen them pay their reckoning; brought all his *young Scholars* in upon them, and encouraged the ſaucineſs and rudenefs which ſome of them offered to the company. Such treatment of perſons of *ſuch Diſtinction* had never before been practiſed or heard of in the Univerſity. And it had been ſtrange if an *Insult* ſo unuſual had not been reſented by the company with a juſt *Contempt* and *Indignation*; it was out of *pure Oppoſition* to him that they ſtayed till the late hour he mentions of twelve a clock, and did not break up till they had received three viſits of the ſame kind from him.

They were not however provoked to ſhew any other incivility or diſreſpect to his perſon, than that of *laughing* at him pretty heartily; and though he complains of this as an affront to his office, he muſt thank himſelf for it, 'twas impoſſible to be help'd, 'twas but the natural and neceſſary effect of the *great Pains* he took to make himſelf *ridiculous*.

We all remember a *late Profeſſor* in our Schools, who when himſelf had made the jeſt, uſed to thunder at the ſcholars for rudely laughing at things ſo ſerious.

This

This gentleman had a fair occasion of reforming some *Abuses*, and abolishing some *dirty Perquisites* of his office, which too justly give offence to grave and good men : But 'tis *Charity* only, and not *Reformation* that begins at home ; and his want of scruple here is enough to make us suspect that his business was to chuse such a part, as would make a noise in the world, would bring him *Credit*, without *Loss*, and would give people such notions of the University, and himself, as to think it unsafe to trust their children there, but under his government and direction.

There needs no other proof of the absurdity and impertinence of this *Complaint*, than the confession which Mr. S---kes has made, *that it was never yet redressed*.

Dr. Roderick, the late Provost of *King's*, was at that time Vice-Chancellor, a known *Lover of Discipline*, and *steady Friend to the Revolution* ; and though he was very tender of discouraging whatever looked like *Reformation* ; yet he expressed himself, I know, very severely upon the trouble and disturbance *this Proctor* gave him in *this* and many other of his *Complaints*.

But to return once to our author ; he comes in the conclusion, with a modesty peculiar to himself, to prescribe to the Ministry, a method and scheme of new modelling and reforming the University.

First, by giving us a body of *new Statutes* ; *reasonable ones*, free from all *Oaths* and *Obligations to our Privileges* ; that is, such as we may break and dispense with at pleasure, without wanting any of those *superstitious Absolutions* which are now thought so necessary ; such as may give our youth an early taste and notion of *true Liberty*.

As for our *present ones*, being given us by Queen Elizabeth, they

they are but the ragged *Remnants of Popery* ; and by unreasonably tying us up to a *strict Observance* of them, are a clog and dead weight upon the enterprizing genius's amongst us ; and give *flavish* and *abject* impressions of duty and respect to our Governors.

He would have *such Statutes as will educate Gentlemen so, as to make them Honour: to the Time and Place they live in* : By the help of our *present ones* we have been always able to furnish the world with persons who have adorned, and who now actually fill the *greatest Offices* of Church and State ; but these have still, it seems, some tincture, some leaven of our *Principles* upon them ; *S---kes* longs to see them succeeded by such, as his *new Statutes* are to raise ; *Men*, as he says, *truly useful to the World*, free from every prejudice of education, and without the least bias of *Church* or *University* upon their minds.

The next thing he proposes, is, the appointment of a *Place of Appeals* for us, from the authority and jurisdiction of the University ; for at present, it seems, all our differences and disputes are determined in an *arbitrary* and *summary* manner, in a hearing or two before the Vice-Chancellor ; the *Liberty* of wrangling and quarrelling no sooner *breathes in any College* where he has any authority, but 'tis stifled and extinguished : *Our Judges too by one Art or other generally make themselves such Parties*, and interest themselves so much in the cause, as to end it often, even before it comes into court, to the great discouragement and obstruction of law and justice among us.

But if we were once allowed to *appeal to Westminster-Hall*, or to carry our *Magistrates* before a *superior Judge*, this would tend much to the *Peace* and *Quiet* of the University, would keep our *Vice-Chancellor* and *Heads* in good order, and make them less forward and impertinent in meddling and concerning themselves with what the rest of the University is doing.

But lastly, for the keeping up and perpetuating the good effects of such a Reformation, he desires the *Visitors* may be appointed to come amongst us *once in a certain Term of Years*, to see that we have not *degenerated* or fallen back into the *old dull Track* again, that we have not acquired any *superstitious Reverence to our Statutes*, any *selfish Love to our Privileges*, but that we have constantly and sufficiently *condemned our Superiors*, and never failed to carry the least point in dispute to *this Place of Appeals*, this *Asylum of oppressed Liberty* provided for us.

These are the things, which in Mr. S--kes's Opinion are wanting, to do the business of the University; but he is not *sanguine enough* to believe, that this is the *precise Time of Reformation*, for we have got a *Ministry*, as he insinuates, disposed to neglect *the best Opportunity of doing Service to their Country that has offered itself since the Restoration*.

One thing only he is sure of, and which we must take upon his word, that *this is certainly the Time when our Professor will be redressed*; that is, I presume, *restored to his Titles and Degrees* amongst us: If this could be true, it would be far from being disagreeable to any honest member of the University, for it is no more than to tell us, that Mr. Bentley is come at last to a sober mind, to understand himself and his duty, is now become sensible of the *Insolence and Indecency* of his conduct, and desirous to ask pardon and make amends for it to the University: Upon *these Terms* we might, I fancy, be prevailed with to restore him at any time; and these, I'll venture to say, are the *only ones*, upon which he can ever be restored.

To tell us of his *being redressed*, without making a *Satisfaction* suitable to his *Offence*, is to talk to us like children; we know ourselves and constitution too well to believe that we can ever be obliged to it.

We are threatened indeed every day with the expectation of a *Royal Mandate* to re-establish him ; and he himself, I hear, gives assurances of it to his friends ; if ever we should receive *such an one*, we shall hardly be at a loss how to behave ourselves with a *becoming duty* and *regard* to it ; we should use it, without doubt, with the *utmost Reverence* and *Respect*.

But should we obey it without *Reserve* or *Hesitation*, before *the Law* has convinced us that we are in duty bound to do it, his Majesty himself would, I dare say, have the worse opinion of us ; the world, I am sure, would despise us for it.

A TRUE
ACCOUNT
OF THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
TRINITY COLLEGE,
IN
CAMBRIDGE.

Under the oppressive Government of their Master
RICHARD BENTLEY, late D. D.

*Prætermittam minora omnia, quorum simile forsitan alius quoque aliquid
aliquando fecerit: nihil dicam nisi singulare; nisi quod, si in alium reum
diceretur, incredibile videretur.*

Cic. in Verr. i.

THE HISTORY OF

THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

A TRUE
 ACCOUNT
 OF THE
 PRESENT STATE
 OF
 TRINITY COLLEGE, &c.

WHEN the late Controversy between the *University* and Dr. *Bentley* was thought so considerable, as to deserve the notice and cognizance of the *Court*, and had raised every where an opinion that *visitors* were to be sent down to us to enquire into and determine it; whatever apprehensions other people might have of the consequences of such a *visitation*, many worthy Members of *Trinity College* had a particular pleasure in the thoughts and expectation of it, having had good assurances given them, that such a Commission would never be granted, without powers and instructions to examine at the same time into the state of their *particular differences*, and redress the *grievances* they had so long laboured under.

But since the *Court* seems now to have left the *Master* to the just resentment and *censures* of the *University*; whatever satisfaction the World might take in the shame and disgrace of an *unjust* and *insolent* man, yet those of his own College have found little reason to claim any share in the public joy it gave, being at present

present very far from receiving any benefit or relief from it: For what is it to them, that their Master has now lost his *Academical Titles and Degrees*, which are but the *trappings and ornaments* of virtue, when he had long since lost, in the esteem of all good men, the *very substance and thing itself*? What is it, I say, to them that he is now no more a *Doctor*, nor will be much longer *Professor*, if he must still be their *Master*, their *Tyrant*, and *Oppressor*? If besides all his former insults, they must now bear the additional weight of his fury and spleen for his late disappointments; their case seems now like that of some *poor wretch* under the correction of a *merciless bully*, who, after having been kicked and despised by all the World besides, is sure to return with interest the drubbings he receives, upon that unhappy creature whom he has had the luck to get the better of.

They have for several years past been labouring, by all the means they could, to procure a public and decisive hearing of their disputes, and have applied themselves for that purpose to every *great man* they could any way find access to: They have long been desirous to subject themselves to the *visitatorial power* of the Bishop of *Ely*, and to join in any addresses to *Court* or *Parliament* for such an explication of their Statutes, as would confirm *that power* to him; their *Petition to the King in Council* to assign them a *visitor*, has been depending there above four years, without any other effect, than from the little notice that is taken of them abroad, to find themselves trampled upon, with the greater spirit and insolence, at home.

While the *liberty of an Englishman* is so much the envy of other Nations, and the boast of our own, and the meanest Peasant knows where to find redress for the least grievance he has to complain of; it is hardly credible, that a *Body of learned and worthy men*, oppressed and injured daily, in every thing that is dear and valuable to them, should not be able to find any *proper Court of Justice* in the kingdom that will receive their complaints.

It is very discouraging to them to observe, that the University had no sooner executed a *necessary piece of Discipline* upon their Master, but the *alarm* was presently taken, and a *jealousy* conceived, that they had exceeded the bounds of their regular authority, and assumed a power not warranted by their *Charters and Statutes*; yet this very man, after all their *Remonstrances* and *Petitions* against his *Tyranny*, has long been and is still suffered, without check or controul, to commit the most exorbitant acts of power that were ever heard of in any regular society, and to ruin one of the most *flourishing Colleges* in Europe, by every possible instance and act of *Male-administration*.

But what makes it still more strange, is, that by the best information I can get, there is not so much as *one person* of any *authority* or *credit about the Court*, who does not take pains to shift off from himself the *envy* and *odium* of protecting him; not *one*, who does not seemingly detest and openly disclaim him; and yet with all the consciousness of his guilt upon him, without any visible hand to preserve him from sinking under it, he continues still so *remorseless* and *incorrigible*, shews such a contempt and defiance of all opposition, and seems to know himself so secure against every thing that threatens him, that his conduct is not any way to be accounted for, except we could believe of him, what a *modern Historian* relates of another *Tyrant* and *Usurper*, that he has found means of *contracting* with a *certain invisible Power* for a *lease of his Government*, to be insured to him against all hazards and events, till the *Charm* be out, and his *Term* expired.

But to come now to my purpose: As to the particulars which I design to insist upon in this *short account of the present state of Trinity College*, I shall confine myself chiefly within the compass of the last year or two; and though it will be necessary for me to touch upon *many facts* of longer date and standing, it shall only

be with design to make myself clearly understood, or to give a better light into the *general character of the man*, which cannot be more perfectly drawn in short, than in what was said of him the other day, *by a gentleman in conversation*, that he is one of the *greatest Savages these latter ages have produced*.

The *Statutes of Trinity College*, in describing the *office and duty of the Master*, require, that [a] he be as eminent and distinguished by *his piety*, as he is by his *station and dignity* from all the rest of the College; and it is but necessary that in a society, designed particularly for the pious and liberal education of *Clergymen*, the *Head* of it should be a person of *unblemished life and manners*, and a *shining example of virtue and religion*, to those who are to be bred under his care: Yet this man, during the whole time of his Government, has by his *shameful irreligious life*, and by *withdrawing himself almost totally from the public worship of God*, given such *notorious scandal and offence*, as would not be endured without the severest censures, in any other Member of any College in the University: He has not, I dare say, for the last dozen years, been above *twice* at Morning Prayers with his College: He once appeared there a good while ago on a *Sunday* morning, to the great surprize of the congregation, who had no other solution to give of this *so strange a phenomenon*, but that the *Judges* being then at *Cambridge*, and having been the evening before at chapel, he came in expectation of finding them there again, and of sending *their Lordships* away with an high esteem and opinion of *his piety*: And a few months since he was seen there once again on a *Sunday*, to pay a compliment to a *Favourite of his* who was to preach that morning before the society; but to cut short the *fatigue of so tedious an attendance*, he contrived to come in, not till the *second Service* was reading, and the *prayers* just at an end.

[a] *De Offic. Mag.* Ut sicut honore ceteros antecellit, ita eximia pietate, &c.

As for *evening prayers*, it is very usual for him to be *many weeks*, nay *months* together in the College, without ever once coming there : One winter, I remember, a frugal chapel-clerk, willing to save an expence to the College, which he had long observed unnecessary, gave over lighting up any candles for his feat in chapel ; yet all this while he was known to be in perfect health, often visiting his friends in town, and receiving company at home ; and lest he should be suspected to have some reasonable excuse for a *conduct so extraordinary* ; lest the true reason should not appear to be, what it really is, a *pure contempt of all things sacred* : He has taken care sometimes when the College were going to their devotions, to be seen *sauntering* and *staring* upon them at his window, or *drinking a bottle* in his parlour.

Any other man of common understanding, though we could suppose him *void of all religion*, would still pay some regard to outward decency, some respect to *station* and *character* ; but nothing is to be wondered at in him, who can *profit so little* under the *pious labours* and *advice* of his *good friend the Lord Bishop of Carlisle* ; for we cannot suppose that those frequent visits, which his *Lordship* does him the honour of, can pass without many *serious* and *episcopal admonitions* to a more decent and edifying behaviour.

One of his creatures, when pressed some years since in a Coffee-house with this his *scandalous neglect of Prayers and Sacraments*, replied very gravely, that it were to be wished, that those who accused the *Master*, had ever so good an excuse for their absence as he had, or were employing themselves so well at home, as he was then known to be ; he meant, in the *edition of his Horace*, which he was at that time preparing to publish.

But Doctor *Asb---st* (who never baulks any cause he undertakes) will argue it with you, as long as you please, that it would

be a *sin* and kind of impiety, for the great Bentley to come to chapel, and waste so much of his time at prayers, which is so greatly and usefully employed for the public service and advantage; nay, that he would not accept of a *Bishoprick*, for this very reason, because of being confined to the inconvenience and drudgery of cathedral prayers.

Next under the *Master*, the *Deans* of the College are the persons particularly entrusted by the Statutes, with the Government of the manners, the care and inspection of the moral and religious behaviour of the Students; it is their business to *preside* and moderate in all the theological exercises; they are to see that divine service be decently and regularly performed in the chapel; to be constant there themselves, and to take care that all the rest of the College be so too, and to punish very severely any failure or neglect of that kind.

An office so solemn and weighty as this, cannot be executed as it ought, but by men of the greatest gravity and abilities; yet the *Master* has generally forced upon the society such *Deans*, (and indeed all other officers whatsoever) as by their vices and infirmities, have been most notoriously unfit for any kind of duty, though for that reason the fittest to serve his private purposes; such, as must be slaves to his will, because obnoxious to his power; such, as might, if possible, serve as foils even to himself: A vigilant conscientious officer would but cast a greater reproach upon his own conduct, by making the scandal of it the more glaring and remarkable.

He made one of the Fellows *Senior Dean*, after having accused him in print to the late *Bishop of Ely*, of a public and scandalous piece of immorality, which need not now be named.

Another he took occasion to convict in a solemn manner, by the testimony of all the College, of being a common swearer, and
 5 habitual

habitual drunkard; and without inflicting upon him the least censure for all this, he made him not long after the *Senior Dean*.

As for the next who bore this office, he had some time ago covered his name upon the *buttery tables*, for talking, as his spies informed him, against his *arbitrary proceedings*: He knew him to be a *timorous poor spirited man*, of much body, but little soul: and when by the terror of this *unheard of punishment*, he had brought him to an abject compliance to all his *scandalous purposes*, he then made him *Senior Dean*; though he knew him much *unqualified and incapacitated* for it by the *Statutes* [b]; yet he was annually chosen into this place for the four years last past, wherein he *played the courtier* so well, as never once to be seen at *morning prayers* during that whole time.

The late *election of Deans* in *October* last, has still exceeded all the rest; for though it be absolutely necessary that the *Senior Dean* be constantly residing in the College, and the *Statutes* require that he be always [b] one of the *Senior Fellows*, yet he, who was then chosen into this office, was no *Member of the Seniority*, and had just before given a *bond of a thousand pounds* to the College, to reside upon a *Vicarage* that they had presented him to. I shall not enter into the character of this *new Dean*, but though modesty makes no part of it, he will not, I dare say, pretend to so much as one *single qualification*, requisite to a proper discharge of his duty; yet all this while *Doctor Colbatch*, a *Member of the Seniority*, always *Resident*, and of all others the most *eminently and confessedly* qualified to do service and credit to the College in this and every other station, was claiming it, as his *Right by the Statutes*.

At every election the *Master* and *Seniors* are obliged to take a

[b] *De Decan. Offic. Et vel uterque vel Theologiæ sit, & ex numero octo Seniorum, &c.*

solemn

solemn Oath [c], that without *favour, hatred, or any perturbation of mind*, they will elect such persons only whom they believe in *their consciences* to be *most worthy* of the places they are to fill; yet when the question was put home to the *consciences of these Electors*, whether by virtue of the *Oath* they had taken, they could believe that *this person* proposed to them by the *Master* would make a *more useful Dean* than *Doctor Colbatch*; there was found a set of them, so *prostitute and abandoned*, as to declare that they did.

The mention of *Dr. Colbatch* obliges me to give some account of the *barbarous and brutish Treatment*, which the *Master* has long shewn to this *great and good Man*. He had formerly much *courted* and *caressed* him, by the offer of every *personal Advantage* he could desire for himself in *College*, to draw him off, if he could, from opposing his *irregular Proceedings*; but since that was found impossible, he would fain be thought to despise *that integrity*, which he could not corrupt: This *Gentleman* is now the *Professor of casuistical Divinity* in the *University*; a post he *singularly* adorns, being himself a *living Instance* of that *strict Morality and Religion*, which he recommends in his *Lectures*; he has always been revered and esteemed, as a *thorough Master* of every part of *sound Learning*, which is either of *Use or Ornament* to a *Professor of Divinity*; his *Enemies* (which are such only as can be *Friends to the Master*) have never had any thing else to say against his *Virtue*, but that it was *too severe*: He is now the only *Member of the Seniority*, who is qualified by the *Statutes*, for the *Place of Vice-Master or Senior Dean*, which ought always to be filled by *Doctors or Bachelors [d] of Divinity*, yet when at every yearly

[c] *De Officiis. Elect.* Deinde Jusjurandum det, se neminem ad aliquod officium gerendum, gratia, odio, ullâve animi perturbatione, vel precario adiectum, sed eum solum quem testimo-

nio conscientiae permotus maximè idoneum ad illud munus obeundum judicaverit, electurum; eodemque Jusjurando se octo Seniores similiter obstringant.

[d] *De Vice-Mag. Offic.* Sit semper

election he makes his claim to *these Offices*, which have many years been executed by *Masters of Art only*, he has always been over-ruled and abused by the *Master* with an *incredible Insolence* and *Contempt*, and seldom with any better language than that of *Fool, Mad-man, unfit for the lowest Office in the College*: But I must do the *Master* the justice to own, that I cannot but think him serious and in earnest in this his *Character of the Doctor*; for he certainly thinks it *the utmost Folly and Madness* in any man to part with *his Profit or his Interest* to save his *Honour* or *his Conscience*.

The elections of *Fellows and Scholars of the Foundation* have generally been managed by him with the same *Injustice* and *Partiality* as those of the *Deans*; he has no regard to the *Morals, Learning, or statutable Qualifications* of the candidates; but only to their *Zeal and Affection* to his *Cause and Service*; he has his spies and agents to give him an exact account of the several *Interests* and *Inclinations* of the Students; and if any be found or suspected to have any *relation to, Acquaintance with, or respect* for the *Fellows that oppose him*, though their merit be never so extraordinary, they are sure to be disappointed in all their pretensions: nay, it is very usual for his *Creatures* to declare and give out who are to be the fortunate persons who are to succeed to these preferments, long before they have passed any *Examination* for that purpose, and Dr. *Asb--st*, I am told, has not scrupled to own that it is his province to nominate to the vacancies.

At an election of *Fellows*, where *one of the Electors* had made such objections to the *Merit* of a person they were going to chuse, whom he had found upon the examination not so well *qualified* as some of the rest; he was told afterwards by the *Master*, in the hearing of all the other *Seniors*, that if he were in the young man's place, he would *break his Head as much a Doctor of Divinity as he was*, for the reflection he had made upon his character.

Baccalaureus Theologiæ, aut Doctor senioris Gradus, &c.
eiusdem facultatis, nunquam autem in-

But

But I need not go any farther for an undeniable proof of what I have asserted, than the election of Fellows in October last. There was then amongst the candidates a Youth of excellent Learning and Abilities, and whose manners and behaviour in College had always been regular, grave, and exemplary: At the Examination he easily distinguished himself to be superior to all the other Competitors; greatly so to most of them, but most remarkably to him that was preferred before him: Yet at the Election, when five of the Seniors being a majority of the Electors, had voted for him, and urged that he might be sent for and publickly examined before them, yet he was set aside with an high hand, and utterly rejected by the Master: The case was very plain, it was difficult, he knew, to make a Tool for his Purposes of one who had been bred up by Mr. Pilgrim, and was espoused by Dr. Colbatch.

His policy seems not unlike that of the Recruiting Officer in the play, who would not list under his command any that could read or write, for fear of their drawing Petitions and Remonstrances against their Superiors.

Mr. Pilgrim indeed has had some of his pupils made Fellows, and sometimes with as little justice as this last was rejected; but they were either such as had given full satisfaction and assurance of their good Affections to the Master, or were recommended by such an interest as could not be withstood by him: He said to one of them of great merit, upon his election, *My Lord has made me your Friend, pray let him make you mine*: Another was made Fellow the last year; but it was not the extraordinary parts and learning he was master of, but a powerful Court Interest that saved him, and even with that he had much ado to get himself chosen the very last of the elected.

But lest this worthy Greek Professor of the University should give him any farther trouble, by such good scholars his pupils; he seems

seems now resolved to suffer no more to be admitted under him, having obliged a youth who last offered himself for that purpose, either to chuse another College, or another tutor; which last he did; and yet the Master has no authority, that I can find, by the statutes, of debarring any Fellow from the right of *taking Pupils*, or, I am sure at least, no reasonable objection to make against the *Professor*.

He had some time ago greatly favoured and encouraged him, and had set him up as a *Tutor in the College* in opposition to another, whom he as much despised; yet when Mr. *Pilgrim*, pursuing his conscience, became obliged to declare himself against his proceedings; and *that other*, as steddily pursuing his interest, was continually fawning, and cringing upon him in the most supple manner, (for which kind of address he has long been famous) the tables were quite turned, and pupils must now be denied to *the one*, to be given to the *other*.

He has long claimed and exercised a most *exorbitant Power* in the making all elections, by the *single Vote* and *Concurrence* of any one Senior with himself; which is plainly against the *Intention* and *equitable Construction* of the Statutes, and contrary to the *practice* and *usage of the College* under all his *Predecessors*: the votes of *five Seniors* had ever before determined the elections: But I hope one day to see him called to an account for this before his *Visitor*; where though this *extraordinary Power* should even be allowed him, he could not fail of being severely punished for his shameful abuse of it in the many scandalous instances of *petitions* and *Officers* he has obtruded by it upon the College, and especially for the *notorious Injustice* of the last election I have been speaking of.

At his first coming to the College, upon the necessary repairs, and a few ornamental in his own lodgings, which were not to

two hundred pounds, having gained a general order and consent for that purpose from the Seniors; he immediately fell to work, demolished in a manner the whole fabrick, and consumed presently in *Wainscot, Marble Chimneys, Sash Windows, and a grand Stair-case, upwards of two thousand Pounds*: The extorting this money from the College, with more afterwards for some other additional extravagances, has been one occasion of perpetual heart-burnings and murmurings against him ever since: But to shew how well he can preserve his character, and that he is still the same man he was near twenty years ago; the very last year he squandered at least *five hundred Pounds of the College Money*, in the improvement of his garden, the building a sort of a banqueting-house there, the making a terrass-walk upon the river, and some other things of great expence and no use to the College; and though it is the *express Command of the Statutes [e]*, and has always been the custom of the College; that the junior *Bursar* shall not expend any considerable sum, even in the most necessary repairs of the house, without the *particular Order of a majority of the Seniors*, and shall himself be obliged to pay for all the expence he makes without such authority; yet all this was done not only without *their Order*, but without their being so much as *made acquainted* with it: For the Master had gained an officer to his mind, whom he imposed upon the College against the votes of *six or seven Seniors*, though incapable of the place, by a *Conclusion and Interpretation of the Statutes of his own making*: But he knew him to be so much a slave to his purposes, as to accept and pay all bills without any other warrant, than that of his commands to him, which are no better authority in this case than those of any other member would be.

Besides all this, he has put the College to very great charges in

[e] *De Thesaurar. Offic.* Statuimus denique, ut nihil vel intra Collegium vel extra aut extruendum aut reficiendum curent, nisi de Magistris aut, eo absente,

Vice-Magistri & majoris partis octo seniorum sententiâ: Quod si fecerint ipsi, per majorem partem octo Seniorum & Magistrum pro eodem solvere cogantur.

buying *Furniture* for his lodgings, which he has no more right to by statute, or even by custom, than the Fellows have to that of their private chambers, which they always provide at their own expence; and this last summer he produced a bill of large arrears which he claims as due to him from the College on this account, and which, I'll venture to prophecy, he will find some means or other of forcing from them in due time.

In the *Junior Bursar's Book*, there used always to be a distinct *Title*, or *Article*, of the *extraordinary Expences of the Lodge*; under which one might have seen at one view, whatever had been expended from this office in any year upon the *Master's* account: But for the inconvenience he had long found, of having his extravagances lie so open and exposed to common observation, he has contrived of late to have this *Head* or *Title* quite struck out of the books, and to have his particular expences so jumbled and intermixed with those of the College, that it is not easy to collect or distinguish the one from the other; especially when, at their *General Audit*, he takes care, that the *Seniors* shall have no opportunity of examining the books of the several offices, for he allows no more time for the passing the great yearly accounts of the College, than is merely necessary for the casting up the many sums and figures, which indeed is all he will suffer to be done there; while the auditing of about Seven thousand Pounds, divided and disbursed in a vast number of small sums, is commonly huddled over by him in the space of six or seven hours.

Amongst *Archbishop Laud's Injunctions to Winchester College*, at a *Visitation* he had held there, we find the following article, which I desire to recommend to his serious perusal.

9. Item, "That your Warden make Satisfaction for the unnecessary charge that he hath put your College to, in building himself Lodgings, a Stair-case and Balcony Window, and for the College Money he expended in Furniture for those his Lodgings and Buildings,

ings, amounting (as we are inform d) to Two hundred Pounds.

What would become of th's man, if his *Visitor* should take this as a *Precedent* for him to proceed upon? For should he ever be obliged (as in all justice he ought) to *restore to the College* whatever he has *unconsciously squandered*, or *illegally extorted* from them, I question whether all he is worth in the world would be sufficient to make full restitution.

His yearly expence in *Coals* and other *Firing*, which he makes the College pay for him, has amounted always to above an hundred pounds; that of his *Bread*, *Beer*, and *Ale*, to about half as much more; sums which could not in any modest computation be fairly spent by him, though all the chimnies in his house were employed the year round about *the one*, and twice the number of his family were to live upon *the other*. But though it be part of the *Oath* [e] he has taken as *Master* to preserve the goods of the College, as far as is in his power, from *Waste* and *Diminution*, yet it has been his constant policy and practice to embezzle and confound, as much as he possibly could, in these and all other articles, that he might gain from the Seniors a *higher Composition in Money* for them, which he has long been aiming at: When he has once settled this, we should then see enough of his good *Management* and *Frugality*, for as far as his own pocket is concerned, never any man of his income has lived with less reputation of good house-keeping, -or any kind of hospitality.

In answer to this charge of his *extravagant Profusion* of the money and goods of the College, his friends make a mighty noise of the great *Improvement* he has made of its revenue; and he himself has roundly affirmed that he has raised it above a *Thousand Pounds a Year*; but how and in what way he has done it, he has

[e] *De Mag. Offic.* Omnia denique quantum in me situm erit, conservaturos bona sine immutatione aut vastatione, rum, &c.

been pleased as yet to keep a secret to himself: He once said to a noble person in conversation (as has been taken notice of before in print) *that he was sent by Providence to the College, as Joseph was to Egypt, to save it from Famine; but he might have remembered, that Joseph was not sent so much to save Egypt, as his Father's House from starving; and if there is any resemblance between the Patriarch and himself in this case, it is in the good Provision he has made for his Family, out of the Fruitfulness of the College.*

As to the management of the College estate, the [/] Statutes direct, that the *Master*, if not otherways hindered, or the *Vice-Master*, with some other persons, shall make a *Progress* every year through some part of it, in such a manner, that the whole may be visited every three years. The preamble of the Statute sets forth as a reason of it, the great damages that may accrue to the College from a *negligent Administration*; yet this survey of their estate has never once been made by himself, or any one else for him, since his coming to the College; nay, he has discouraged and actually hindered others from undertaking it, who had offered their service for that purpose; yet all the while they have but too much reason to believe, that great waste and encroachments have been made upon their lands, that their manors, woods, and edifices, have suffered greatly by this neglect of his, as it must of necessity be, where every thing is left to the management and honesty of the tenants.

As for the setting of fines upon leases, it is all done at random and by mere guess, and generally upon no better information than what is had from the tenants themselves; and wherever he has raised any of them in their fines, it may as probably, for any thing he knows, be to their injury and wrong, as with any justice

[f] *De Agr. C. ll. lustrand.* Statuimus aut, eo aliis negotiis impedito, à Vice-Magistro, &c. lustrantur, & in singulos annos totidem eorum, quot commodè & fundi Collegii diligenter à Magistro lustrari possunt, lustrantur.

equity ; yet this is the man who pretends to have improved the estate of the College : But I have heard of *some leases* that have been granted by him, so plainly *disadvantageous* and *ruinous* to the society, as to make all who know him suspect that there must have been some private conditions made for the passing them : For the *plundering of the College* is so much his peculiar province, that he would hardly suffer any man to encroach upon him there, without a valuable consideration : But I shall give one late instance for all, of his great uprightness and integrity in the *letting of Leases*.

A gentleman of *York*, not being suffered by him, upon the conditions he offered, to renew a lease he had of a large house in that City, belonging to the College, his term expired, and the lease became void. The Master upon this, taking the Seniors once at a surprize, as they were rising and breaking up from other business, proposes his own brother to them for a tenant, and names at the same time a *fine* which he thought proper for him to pay on that occasion, which they, not at all apprized of the matter, made no objection to.

He soon after went to *London*, where the Bursar acquainted him by Letter, that some of the Seniors began to be unwilling to pass the lease so rashly, and desired that the house might first be viewed, and the circumstances of it reported to them ; which the Master would not consent to, but in answer to him pressed the dispatch of the lease, said, his brother should take it at all hazards, and endeavoured to demonstrate, *that the fine* which he had before named, was a full and sufficient equivalent for the purchase of it ; and a twenty years lease was accordingly granted for a fine of forty pounds.

This house consists of several tenements, whose rents amount yearly to upwards of forty pounds ; the reserved rent to the College, with another small one to the Vicars of the Church of
York,

York, is no more than three pounds a year; so that this *twenty years lease* was sold for *scarce one year's purchase*, which (considering the excellent repairs the tenements were in, and their situation in the most convenient part of *York*) was worth at least eight or ten.

Thus we see this *pious Ruler* once again acting the part of *Joseph*, in the *good settlement* he assigned to *his Brethren*, upon the Lands of his Government.

The ejected tenant soon after filed a bill in *Chancery* against the Master and Fellows, alledging that there had been a *Contract* made between him and the College, (which is still to be seen in their Conclusion book) that he should not be raised *in his fine* for any improvements or additional buildings he might make to that house; yet, though he had laid out *five hundred pounds* upon the premises, and had always offered his *usual fine*, he could never obtain any renewal of his term, but was arbitrarily dispossessed by the Master, who had sold *the lease* to his *own brother*, at a price much under its real value.

The Master draws an answer to this Bill, which he sends down engrossed to the College, to be sealed by the Fellows; wherein he sets forth, that for his part he *knew little or nothing* of the lease above-mentioned, and had no share or hand in the passing of it; that it was entirely transacted in his absence, *by the Vice-Master and Fellows*, and as he presumed, by the *interest of his brother's son*, then a Fellow of the College; which particulars were all known to be *so false to the Seniors*, that as great slaves as they generally are to his commands, they durst not however obey him in this, but returned his answer to him just as they received it, having absolutely refused to set the College Seal to it: But they were told by him at his return, that, since they were so scrupulous, the Lord Chancellor had, upon sight of his brother's answer, soon determined the dispute in his favour; though
most

most people are of opinion, that the matter was *made up with the prosecutor* in a more private manner.

Upon a *Visitation of the University* in *Queen Mary's* days, under the Legantine authority of Cardinal Pool, one Christopherson, then *Master of Trinity College*, was joined in commission with several others for the management of it; and though he was a leading, zealous man in the *interests of the Court*, just before made a Bishop, and was then entertaining the *rest of the Visitors* at his own lodgings, yet he could not escape *such a severe censure and reprimand* from them, as was supposed to have thrown him for a time into a kind of *distraction*, for having let a *College Farm* to his *Brother-in-law*, upon terms of *disadvantage* and *detriment* to the society.

There is *one way* indeed, which has been taken of *advancing the Revenue of the College*, which he must be allowed the honour of, being himself the sole manager and contriver of it. It is by an art he has found of *governing the market at Cambridge* in such a manner, as to set what price he pleases upon the Corn that is sold there, on those *two Market Days*, when the rents of the College are determined by it for the rest of the year: But this method of his is so remarkable, and so entirely new to the University, that I shall beg leave to be somewhat particular in my account of it.

A little before *Michaelmas 1717*, he sent for the College *Bal* (an able, experienced man in his business) and shewed him *samples of Wheat*, desiring to know his opinion of them, what they might be worth. The best of them was valued by the Baker at *four shillings and two pence* a bushel, the other at much less; but this price did not at all satisfy the Master, who said, that it should not be sold for that, nor a good deal more. And upon the Baker's declaring, that he could not in honour or conscience offer any thing more for it in the Market, he began to

be out of humour, and told him, that those who *would not give a good price on Rent-Days*, ought not to *bake for the College*, or to that effect; which threat he soon after made good, by discharging this honest man from the service of the College, for his endeavouring to preserve a good conscience in it: The *same Sample of Corn* was shewn afterwards to some other considerable Bakers in the town, who all agreed in setting the same price upon it.

About the same time messengers were dispatched to a farmer in the Country, to let him know, that, if he would bring into the market a quantity of his old corn, he should have a *Chapman* for it from *Trinity College* at *five shillings a bushel*, which he (well pleased with so good a price) easily complied with: And an *Agent of the Master's* wrote to one Mr. *Matthews of Cambridge*, to desire him to receive and expose for him in the market a load of Malt, and that he would *have a chap come to him to buy it*, at *twenty six shillings a quarter*; but Mr. *Matthews* suspecting some foul play at the bottom, refused to be concerned in it.

On the market day, the *Master's own Bailiff* or *Steward of his Country affairs* brought in a load of Malt, with some Wheat of the same kind with that of the *Sample*; and the Butler of the College, who had never before been employed on such occasions, was sent (as he himself confessed full sore against his will) to buy all the Wheat which the Farmer and Bailiff had to sell at *five* *is* a bushel, and the Brewer of the College took off the *at twenty six shillings* a quarter.

At this price the Master fixed the rents of the College to the tenants; who were thus plainly cheated and robbed of their money by a *shameful suborning* of people to buy and sell in the manner above-mentioned; for it is well known and will be attested by all the Bakers and Dealers in the town, that there was no other Corn sold that day, nor long before or after, at near so high a rate; the ordinary price of the best Wheat being then

under four shillings and six pence a bushel, of Malt about two and twenty shillings a quarter.

When this came afterwards to be known in the University, it was talked on every where with a good deal of indignation, as highly deserving some public censure and condemnation : It was the bringing such scandal and disgrace upon the College, as in the sense of their Statutes [g] would merit an *expulsion*; being such a breach of public faith, such an evident piece of fraud and injustice to all College tenants, as might have easily raised the out-cry of the Nation and the resentments of the Parliament upon them, if it had not been notorious, that no body bore any other part or share in it, than what was forced upon them by the Master.

But to detect the full reach and extent of this roguery : I must acquaint the reader that upon *the Master's intrusion* into the *Regius Professor's Chair*, being by that means posselt of a good benefice annexed to it, he became immediately the greatest *Farmer and Master* in the country ; and besides the advantage he had by his practising upon the Markets, in his great share of the College revenues so much augmented by it, his main view and design was to furnish the offices of the College with Corn of his own, though never so indifferent at the *same extraordinary price* the year round. By this means he intended, as he commonly bragged, to double the income of his Professorship, and for the convenience of carrying on this trade he built a *spacious Gran* near his own lodgings at the expence of the College.

But the clamour he soon drew upon himself, and the advice of some of his friends upon it, have of late cast a damp and check upon these projects of his, and when he had kept his Malt so long that it was damaged by age, and almost eaten up by an in-

[g] *De pœna maj. Crim. Aut dedecus, infamiamve dicto Collegio inusserit, Collegio privetur.*

sect called the Weevil, he then sent in above seven hundred bushels of it to the brewhouse of the College at the best price of the market, and in spite of all their remonstrances, and though the Brewer, Butler, and other Servants freely owned, that it could not make good drink of any sort, he obliged them to make use of it; and he has still, I hear, in his Granary a great quantity of old Wheat in much the same condition, which, when so decayed as to be fit for no other use, he will, I presume, think good enough to make *Bread for the Fellows*.

Mr. *Miller* Serjeant at Law, and Fellow of the College, had been always, during his residence, a great opposer of the Master's *unjust designs*, and was the chief Manager of the *famous prosecution* against him at *Ely-House*, for the carrying on of which he is still believed to be a great deal of money out of pocket, though he had received on that account above an hundred pounds from the College; he was soon afterwards ejected by the Master, or suspended from all the rights and profits of his Fellowship, and has ever since been labouring *above*, to little purpose, to bring their quarrels to some decisive issue.

But the last Summer *the Master* began to think it convenient to take off this *old adversary* of his, and made a proposal to him, that he should have *four hundred pounds* paid him on pretence of charges at the tryal, besides most of the profits of his Fellowship since his suspension, if he would but quit all his claim and title to it for the future; which the Serjeant consenting to, he undertook to procure him the money from *the College*: And because *the Plaintiff's expences* were thus to be repayed him, he thought it full as reasonable, that his (*the Defendant's*) should also be allowed him, which in principal and interest he laid at *five or six hundred pounds*.

Thus the *poor College* must not only furnish him with money to buy off their own friends from them; but after having been

forced by his intolerable injuries to a *troublesome expensive prosecution* of him before the *late Bishop of Ely*, must now be condemned in *Costs and Damages* to the utmost farthing, and obliged to make him amends for the *public shame* they put him to, in so fairly *convicting him* of every article they accused him of.

But after all, when he came to make this hopeful proposal to the Seniors, there was found to his great surprize, a majority of them so stout and honest that day, as to refuse their consent to it, though he stormed and blustered in a most extravagant manner, and falsely and impudently affirmed, that the agreement was made by the approbation and direction of the Lord C----

At another meeting of the Seniors soon after this disappointment, he told one of them in the hearing of all the rest, that the *money was none of his, and he would have it in spite of him, but in another way*: Which, though not well understood at that time, he has since effectually explained, for, on pretence of putting a Statute in execution which had long been neglected, he has lately taken out of the *Bursar's hands* all the money that used to lie there, for the more easy distribution of it to the uses of the College, and has laid it up in a chest secured by three locks, whose keys are to be kept by himself and the two Deans; and there is hardly a soul who knows any thing of the character of this *worthy Triumvirat*, that makes any scruple to believe that this is done with a design to be as good as his word, and to have it in his power to *plunder* it when he pleases.

Most of the late *Bursars* have been little better than his Bankers or Cashiers, to pay out the money as they received it to his orders; but the present officer, Dr. *Ayleffe*, being a man of a *quite different stamp* of too much *honour and integrity* to be at all applicable to his purposes; he was forced to have recourse to this stratagem of executing the Statutes; and I much wonder that a person of his sagacity could so long overlook a Statute, so favour-

able and apposite to the methods of his Government : By this he can now dispose of what sums he pleases without any noise or disturbance ; this puts him upon the foot of those *great Monarchs*, whose characters he has long been imitating ; for he can now *levy money without his Parliament*, or, when *his College* grows mutinous, shut up his *Exchequer*, and so starve them to a peace by withdrawing the sinews of War.

As for those Fellows of the College, who have had the virtue to struggle for their liberty, and to make a stand against his corrupt practices, they will easily be believed to live uncomfortably enough under the power of *such a Master* : A man who dares use Doctor Colbatch in the manner he has done, will make little scruple of trampling upon the rest at discretion : They are not only denied *every common favour*, they might expect from the society, but *every common Right*, which not only their Statutes, but what the laws of nature and humanity make due to them : If they are sick in their chambers, they are debarred the statutable privilege of exchanging their *Commons* for a diet more proper for their condition : Every Junior of theirs who has testified any zeal for the interest of the Master, is presently put over their heads into all the *places of trust and profit* they lay claim to.

A reverend old gentleman, who had passed through all the offices of the College without any other offence, than that of having been sometimes *too compliant to the Master's will*, yet, when forced at last to withstand his *perpetual incroachments*, was turned out by him from the *place of Vice-Master*, and by his threats and insults driven away to *London in an extreme old age*, where after a long life spent *in the service and within the walls of the College*, he ended his days about a month ago in exile from it.

Most of the rest are glad to dispose of themselves to Curacies or other small preferments, where they may find some ease and quiet from the effects of his malice : But they will one day have
the

the just satisfaction of seeing these things return upon his own head, and may in the mean while comfort themselves with good *Ofellus* in the poet

*nos expulit ille,
Illum Nequities, &c. postremo expellet certe.*

As for the *good order and discipline of the College*, it has been wholly ruined and subverted by him: The correction of vice would be but a *Satire upon himself*; it has been his business to make parties even amongst the scholars, to list them betimes into his service, that he might be the better able to *mob and insult* his opposers.

With the *discipline of the College the Genius and Spirit* of it must fall and sink of course, of which we cannot have a surer proof, than a *late Pamphlet* published in the *Defence of the Master* against *the Proceedings of the University*: A performance so exceedingly *senseless and impertinent*, so void of all *good Language, Truth, and Wit*, that his own friends were forced to own themselves ashamed of it.

What can the World expect from *Trinity College*, when it is told, that this was the production of *a club of it's choicest wits*, employed and furnished with materials by *the Master himself*? Who can help lamenting the *degenerate State* of this great society, once so famous for the *polite learning and fine wit* of its Members now daily sinking into *Pedantry and Barbarism*?

It was formerly the credit of its Fellows, to have a *true taste and understanding* of the *good authors of antiquity*; it was enough for them that they could *imitate*, without pretending to *correct them*; but it has been *this man's glory and delight*, to raise up, from *Country Schools* in opposition to that of *Westminster*, a race of *awkward Critics*, of a character just the reverse to the other, who

who set up for *Reformers* and *Correctors* of the *Ancients*, without any taste or understanding of them.

I have now gone as far as I designed for the present, in *this account* I have given of the *State of Trinity College*, and may venture, I believe, to appeal to all who read it, for the justice and necessity of our complaints.

The *Charge* I have brought against the *Master*, is such, as no honest man can falsely make, any more than an honest man can be guilty of it, — *ita apertam vim habet, ut aut accusetur improbe aut defendatur*. The controversy is of that nature, as can never end but in the loss of all *Credit* and *Character* to one side or other ; the quarrel is now come to such a *Head and Crisis*, that it is impossible for the contending parties to live with any ease together within the same walls ; it is impossible for them to continue *scuffling and wrangling* thus perpetually, but to the irreparable damage and utter ruin of the society : It is now become necessary, that one or other be made to submit and quit the field to his adversary ; this is the *Issue* that the Complainants would gladly put the dispute upon : If their accusation should appear at last to be false and frivolous, they are content to become as justly odious, as their *Master* must needs be, if it is found real and unanswerable ; they are content to suffer *Expulsion* themselves, if they cannot prove him to have long deserved it.

But I would appeal more especially to the *Right Reverend Fathers the Bishops* of our Church ; it is to them I would leave the judgment of the cause I contend for ; let them declare their opinion of it to the world, whether it be not necessary, for the sake of every thing that is good, to remove this man from his *Mastership* ; whether he can be a fit Governor and example for a society ; where the youth come to prepare themselves under his care for the *sacred Ministry of the Church*.

But

But if there be any of that *high Order*, who find themselves still disposed to favour and espouse him, let them but first enjoin him to purge himself of the crimes he is accused of, or to testify a repentance for them, as public as the scandal he has given, and then they may cherish him as much as they please: In the mean while they are desired to consider, how far the countenance of such *venerable Names* may influence to the obstruction of justice against him, and perpetuating the miseries of the oppressed; or at least, where the guilt is so notorious, what an offence it must needs be to all good men, to see the man, who stands charged with it, countenanced and caressed by persons of *so reverend and sacred a Character*.

It has, I know, been the constant art and management of his friends to insinuate every where, that all this cry against him has been raised by the *Malice of a Party*, provoked by his *Zeal and good Affection to the present happy Establishment*: And this pretence, though so often confuted, so stale and false as it is, has, I am sensible, prevailed with some to think the worse of his accusers. I should freely give leave to all such, to believe him as *sincere a Whig* as they please, if they would but first take the trouble to inform themselves of these two or three following questions.

Whether the same persons, who are now prosecuting him as a *Whig*, were not petitioning and pursuing him just as warmly, when an *open and declared Tory*? Whether he did not actually shelter himself from them, under a *late Ministry*, by taking upon him that *Character*? Whether out of his zeal to that *Cause*, he did not turn out *College Servants* from their business and livelihood, for refusing to *vote for Tories* in the corporation, at the very last *Election to Parliament*? Whether he was not stiffly opposed by some, whom he now calls *Tories*, in his shameful abuse of a trust reposed in the College, when he bestowed a charity, designed for the maintenance of decayed gentlemen of grave and sober character

ter, upon a *Ringleader of the Mob of Cambridge*, as a reward for the great services he had done *the Tories at their Elections*.

But to demonstrate that he knows no other principle but that of his interest : The other day, when a Gentleman of the University, believed to be a *Nonjuror* to the Government, was for that reason under a prosecution from the *Vice-Chancellor*, in order to be dispossessed of an office he held amongst us, being supposed to have some friends in the body, who, in compassion to his particular circumstances, were willing to have screened him from the ruin he was threatened with : *This true Whig of ours* dispatched an agent to him, as I am well informed, with proposals to unite their forces, and to join their several friends, to act together for their mutual defence against their *common Enemy the Vice-Chancellor*.

But how is it possible for a man, who wants to be *screened and saved* from the pursuit of justice, which would ruin him, to be of any *Principle or Party*, but that, which can give him immediate shelter and protection ? He must necessarily throw himself upon *that Power*, which alone can secure him. This is no more than what fact and experience will always confirm, as it has remarkably in this very instance ; for ever since this prosecution of him began near twelve years ago, his *Principles* have always run the same changes with *Court Favour*, and never yet out-lasting *the Ministry* they were calculated for.

Every man of honour and integrity, of what denomination soever, cannot but abhor such a shuffling, selfish conduct ; every *honest Whig* must certainly resent the affront done to his party by such *scandalous Pretenders* to it. I know of none, who can be friends to him out of *Principle*, but such only as are professed or secret enemies to all *Virtue and Religion* : It must be, without doubt, the utmost pleasure and satisfaction to them, to see him *flourish and triumph over his Adversaries* ; to see him abuse so suc-

cessfully to their service and interest, the great talents and opportunities that have been afforded him of doing good in the world ; they will easily give him leave *to write* whatever he pleases, if he will but continue *to live*, as he has done : For to see a *Clergyman*, *Archdeacon*, and *Professor of Divinity*, behave himself in the manner he does, is of such service, they know, to the *Cause of Irreligion*, as will out-balance twenty of his *Pamphlets* against the *Free Thinkers*.

How far it may be for the service and credit of the Government, to indulge this pleasure to such friends of his as these, I most humbly submit to the consideration of *those*, who preside over the great affairs of the kingdom, into whose hands, if *this Account* should have the honour to fall, I desire them to remember, that it is not *any matter of Favour or Grace*, but *Justice* only we petition for : That it is not any *new Law* we want to relieve us, but the *Benefit* and *Protection* of the *old ones* : That it is not any *Act of Power or Authority* we desire from them, but the *common* and *natural Right* of every subject, a *Hearing and Redress* of our *Grievances*.

A

TREATISE

ON THE

ROMAN SENATE.

IN TWO PARTS.

The FIRST PART contains,

The substance of several letters, formerly written to the late Lord HERVEY, concerning the manner of creating SENATORS, and filling up the vacancies of that body in OLD ROME.

The SECOND PART, which is now added, contains a distinct account,

- I. Of the power and jurisdiction of the SENATE.
- II. Of the right and manner of convoking it.
- III. Of the places, in which it was usually assembled.
- IV. Of the legal times of holding their assemblies.
- V. Of the different ranks and orders of men in the SENATE, and of the forms observed in their deliberations.
- VI. Of the nature and force of their decrees.
- VII. Of the peculiar dignity, honors and ornaments of a ROMAN SENATOR.

EXTRACT

OF THE

REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSIONERS

OF THE

LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR

1891

AND

THE

LAND

OFFICE

A
T R E A T I S E
O N T H E
R O M A N S E N A T E .

P A R T the F I R S T .

THE late Lord *Hervey*, who had long honored me with very distinguishing marks of his friendship, took occasion in one of his letters, about twelve years ago, to ask my opinion, on two or three points, relating to Classical antiquity, and especially, *on the manner of creating Senators, and filling up the vacancies of the Senate in Old Rome*; on which *M. Vertot's* answer to the same question, when it was proposed to him by the late Earl *Stanhope*, had not given him satisfaction.

In compliance therefore with his Lordship's request, I presently sent him my thoughts, on the other points, above intimated; and, in a separate letter, endeavoured to explain the state of the *Roman Senate*, from that time, in which the Commons of *Rome* first opened their way to the public honors of the city, till the final oppression of their liberty, which I observed to be the period, to which Earl *Stanhope's* question was particularly referred.

But my short account of the matter did not answer the purpose of Lord *Hervey's* inquiry, nor solve the particular difficulties, which seemed to him to perplex it. He resolved, therefore, to take the pains of searching into it himself, and of tracing out the origin, and progress of the Senate, from its first institution by

Romulus

Romulus, down to the reign of *Augustus*: the result of which was, that his opinion at last happened to differ from mine, which he explained with great eloquence, and enforced with great learning, drawn from the principal writers on the *Roman* affairs, both *Greek* and *Latin*.

Here then was a controversy, unexpectedly started between us, and several letters exchanged upon it. And I could heartily wish, that all controversies of the same kind, were carried on with the same spirit. For though each of us espoused a different hypothesis, from which neither at last seemed willing to depart, yet this adherence to our several opinions; gave not the least shock to our friendship, but rendered it more agreeable still on both sides, as being grounded on that ingenuous freedom and indulgence to each other's way of thinking; without which, no friendship can either be valuable or lasting.

As the subject of these papers has not been professedly treated, by any of the Ancients; nor, in my opinion, sufficiently explained, by any of the Moderns, so I flatter myself, that the publication of what I had collected upon it, in the defence of my hypothesis, may be of some little use or entertainment to the curious: as it exhibits a more distinct idea, than will easily be found elsewhere, of the genius of the *Roman* government in general, as well as a more precise illustration of the constitution of the *Roman* Senate; which may be called, *the soul or vital principle* of that mighty republic [a], and what gave birth and motion, to all those celebrated acts, which were successively produced in it.

In answer therefore to the question abovementioned, concerning *the right and manner of creating Senators*, and filling up the vacancies of that body, I sent my Lord *Hervy* the following letter.

[a] Ἐοικέναι τε τῷ καθ' ἕνα τὸ κοινὸν σὺν τῷ τῆς βασιλῆος σώματι ὃ, τὸ τῶ
ἑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶ ἀνδρὶ ἀνελόντι ἐκεί-
νους. Dionys. Hal. v. 67. Edit. Oxon.

MY LORD,

April 1, 1735.

I WISH, that it were in my power to give your Lordship any satisfaction, on this or any other occasion, where you can possibly want it; which as I endeavoured in my last letter, upon a question of a different kind, so I shall attempt again in this, on the subject of the Roman Senate, where I fancy myself perhaps more capable, as well as the argument more worthy of your Lordship's inquiry. I am ashamed to confess, that when I received the honor of your Lordship's, I had not read *M. Vertot's* answer to Earl Stanhope; but I have since procured it, in order to see distinctly, what it was, that could remain still obscure to you, in a question, which had been treated by so able a master, and which of itself had appeared always to me to be sufficiently clear. I shall not trouble your Lordship with my particular exceptions to the account of that learned Antiquary, but give you only in short, my own sentiments on the same subject, drawn, as I imagine, from evident and authentic testimonies of the ancient writers.

From the time, that the Plebeians had opened themselves a way to the first honors of the state, the constant and regular supply of the Senate was from the annual magistrates; who by virtue of their several offices acquired an immediate right to sit and vote in that assembly. The usual gradation of these offices, was that of *Quæstor*, *Tribune of the people*, *Ædile*, *Prætor*, and *Consul*; which every candidate, in the ordinary forms of the constitution, was obliged to take in their order, with this exception only, that he might forego either the Tribunate or the Ædileship at his own choice, without a necessity of passing through them both. The Quæstorship was called the first step of honor; and the Quæstors, who were generally employed in the provinces abroad, assigned to them severally by lot, no sooner returned from their provincial administration, than they took their places in the Senate, and from that time forward, from the rank of Equestrians, or what we commonly call Knights, became Senators for life.

Quæstors, Tribunes, Ædiles, Prætors, Consuls, became Senators for life.

All

All these Magistrates elected by the People, All these magistrates were elected by the people in their public assemblies, promiscuously and indifferently from the whole body of the citizens; which explains what *Cicero* frequently declares in different parts of his works, "That the senatorian dignity was conferred by the suffrage and judgement of the whole Roman people; and that an access to the supreme council of the republic was laid open to the virtue and industry of every private citizen [b]."

Enrollment by the Censors at each Lustrum. But though these offices gave both an immediate right and actual entrance into the Senate, yet the senatorian character was not esteemed complete, till the new Senators had been enrolled by the Censors, at the next *Lustrum*, or general review of all the orders of the city, which was generally held every five years. Yet this enrollment was but a matter of form, which could not be denied to any of them, except for some legal incapacity, or the notoriety of some crime, or infamy upon their characters; for which, the same Censors could expel or deprive any other Senator, of what rank or standing soever. It was one part likewise of the censorian jurisdiction, to fill up the vacancies of the Senate, upon any remarkable deficiency in their number, with new members from the equestrian order, who had not yet born any magistracy: but this was not done arbitrarily, or without the consent and approbation of the people. For by observing the manner of proceeding on some extraordinary occasions, we may collect the legal and regular method in ordinary cases. For example, after the battle of *Cannæ*, the Senate being greatly ex-

Cicero

[b] Qui cum regum potestatem non tulissent, ita magistratus annuos creaverunt, ut concilium Senatus reip. proponerent sempiternum; deligerentur autem in id consilium ab universo populo, aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium industrie ac virtuti pareret. Cic. pro Sext. 65.

Si populum Romanum, ejus honoribus in amplissimo concilio collocati sumus. Post red. in Sen. 1.

In eo loco, in quo me honores populi Romani collocaverunt. Pro Dom. 31.

Cujus beneficio in hunc ordinem venimus. In Verr. iv. 11.

hausted,

hausted, and no censors in office, a Dictator was created for the single purpose of filling up the vacancies: who presently ascended the Rostra, and in the presence of the people, assembled in the Forum, ordered all those, who remained alive of the last censorian list, to be first called, and enrolled anew; then those, who since that time had born a curule magistracy, but had not been enrolled, each according to the order of his creation; then those, who had been *Ædiles*, *Tribunes of the people*, or *Quæstors*; and lastly, those of the equestrian rank, who had born no magistracy at all, but had signalized themselves in the war, and taken spoils from the enemy: and having thus added one hundred and seventy seven new senators to the last roll, with the universal approbation of the people, he laid down his office [c]. Upon another occasion likewise, when *Sylla*, the dictator, after the destruction made by his civil wars and proscriptions, found it necessary to fill up the exhausted senate with three hundred Knights, he gave the choice of them to the people in an assembly of their tribes [d].

After the Battle of Cannæ a Dictator created, to fill the Senate.

Sylla

The power of the Censors, being naturally odious and unpopular, was generally exercised with temper and caution, unless when an extraordinary licence and corruption of the times seemed to demand a particular severity and enforcement of discipline. The censures however of these magistrates were not perpetual or irreversible, nor considered as bars to any future advancement: for what was inflicted by one Censor, was sometimes reversed by the other; and what was done by them both, by an appeal to the people; or by the succeeding Censors; who commonly restored the disgraced party to his former dignity; or else by obtaining, a second time, any of the magistracies abovementioned, the person so disgraced entered again into the Senate, and was enrolled of course by the next Censors. Thus we find some, who had suffered the censorian note of infamy, chosen Censors after-

Censors unpopular.

[c] Liv. l. xxiii. 23.

[d] App. de Bell. civ. l. i. p. 413.

Antony and Lentulus
restored

wards themselves [e]; and *C. Antonius*, who was *Cicero's* colleague in the consulship, had been expelled the senate for his vices, about six years before; and *Lentulus* also, who was expelled even after he had been consul, was restored to the Senate by obtaining the prætorship a second time after that disgrace; in which office he was put to death by *Cicero*, for conspiring with *Catiline* against the public liberty [f].

Vertot.

Thus, as it is evident from unquestionable authorities, the legal and ordinary source, by which the vacancies of the Senate were supplied, was from the annual magistrates, chosen by the people: a method of supply, of all others the best adapted to support the dignity, as well as to fill up the number of that august body; which could never be remarkably deficient, but by the uncommon accidents of war, or pestilence, or proscriptions of the nobility: on which occasions, those deficiencies were supplied, either by the extraordinary power of a Dictator, created for that purpose, or the ordinary power of the Censors, confirmed by the approbation of the people. *M. Vertot* seems to perplex the question; first, by considering the authority of the people, and that of the Censors, as opposite and inconsistent with each other in the creation of Senators, whereas they were both of them

Cicero.

[e] Ponam illud unum: *C. Getam*, cum a *L. Metello* & *Cn. Domitio* censoribus e senatu ejectus esset, censorem ipsum postea esse factum—Quos autem *L. Gellius* & *Cn. Lentulus*, duo censes, furti & captarum pecuniarum notaverunt, ii non modo in senatum redierunt, sed etiam illarum ipsarum rerum judiciis absoluti sunt. *Cic. pro Cluent.* 42.

Censes denique ipsi sæpenumero superiorum censorum judiciis—non steterunt: atque etiam ipsi inter se censes sua judicia tanti esse arbitrantur, ut alter

alterius judicium non modo reprehendat, sed etiam rescindat; ut alter de senatu movere velit, alter retineat.—*Ibid.* 43. Vide etiam *Val. Max.* l. ii. 9. 9.

[f] Hunc *Antonium* sexennio, quo hæc dicerentur, *Gellius* & *Lentulus* censes senatu moverunt; causamque subscripserunt, quod judicium recufarit, quod propter æris alieni magnitudinem prædia manciparit, bonaque sua in potestate non haberet. *Afc. Pæd.* in *Orat.* in *Tog. Cand.* Vid. it. *Dion.* l. xxxvii. p. 43. *D. Vell. Pat.* ii. 34.

jointly

jointly necessary, to make the act complete : secondly, by asserting the censorian power to be the original and principal in that affair, whereas it was but secondary or ministerial, to the sovereign prerogative of the people.

About a month after the date of this letter, his Lordship sent me his own opinion on the same subject, drawn out at length, in the form of a dissertation ; which he supported afterwards, and farther explained by a second ; and finally defended by a third.

As soon as I had received the first of them, I immediately sat down to consider the argument again more precisely : and, agreeably to the method observed by his Lordship, endeavoured to sketch out the legal and genuine state of the Roman Senate, through all the several periods, in which it had suffered any remarkable alteration, under the Kings, the Consuls, and the Censors : in pursuance of which design, as fast as I filled up my papers to the proper size of a letter, I transmitted them to his Lordship at different times and in different packets : all which I have now thought proper, for the sake of brevity and perspicuity, to connect into one continued letter, in the very words of the originals, as far as they could be recovered from the imperfect notes, which I had taken of them, or at least, in an exact conformity to that sense, in which they were first written.

MY LORD,

WHEN your Lordship required my thoughts *on the manner of filling up the Roman Senate*, I gave them in the simplicity of my heart, the best, that occurred to me, on a subject, for which I was not then particularly prepared. I fancied, that I could dictate to your Lordship, as M. Vertot to Earl Stanhope, and recollecting, that I was writing to a court, thought it a part of good breeding, to keep clear of Greek and Latin. But your Lordship has fairly caught me, and, in your elaborate dissertation,

tion, given me a pattern, how I ought to have written on a question of learning, or at least, how to my Lord *Hervey*.

In my former letter, I chose to begin my account of the Senate, from that time, when its power and glory were at their height, and it's history, the most worthy of our notice; when it was free in it's deliberations, and open in it's access, to the virtue of every citizen. But since your Lordship has thought fit to recur to it's very origin, and to trace out its progress through every period of it's duration, I think myself obliged to pursue the same method, and explain my thoughts on it's original constitution and legal manner of supply, from the very foundation of *Rome*, to the oppression of it's liberty. But in order to place the subject of our debate in it's true light, it will be necessary, to state precisely the different opinions, which we severally entertain about it.

Your Lordship's notion then is, "that, under the Kings of *Rome*, the choice and nomination of all the Senators depended wholly on the will of the Prince, without any right in the people, either direct or indirect: that the Consuls, who succeeded to the kingly power, enjoyed the same prerogative, till the creation of the Censors; who ever after possessed the sole and absolute right of making and unmaking Senators."

My opinion on the contrary is, "that the Kings, the Consuls, and the Censors acted in this affair, but ministerially and subordinately to the supreme will of the people; in whom the proper and absolute power of creating Senators always resided." I shall proceed therefore, in the method above proposed, to examine, what evidence of facts, or grounds of probability can be found in favor of my hypothesis, through all the several periods of the Roman history.

Hervey's System

Kings

Consuls

Censors possessed the sole Power.

Middleton's System

Kings

Consuls

Censors ministerial under

the People.

I must confess in the first place, that, as far as our argument is concerned with the regal government of *Rome*, your Lordship has the Latin writers on your side, who constantly speak of the creation of Senators, as a branch of the royal prerogative. But in computing the proper force of this evidence, we must remember, that none of those writers treat the question professedly, but touch it only incidentally, and that it is natural to all, upon the slight and occasional mention of an event, to ascribe it to the principal agent, concerned in its production; so as to impute the acts of popular assemblies to the Prince or ruling Magistrate, who convened and presided in them, and had the chief influence perhaps in determining the transactions themselves. Thus when Livy tells us, that the *Præfect* of the city created the first Consuls; and that Brutus, one of these Consuls, created P. Valerius, his Colleague in that office; or that the *Interrex* on other occasions created the Consuls, or that the *Pontifex Maximus* was ordered by the Senate to create the first Tribunes [g], he means nothing more, than that those Magistrates called the people together, in order to make such creations, in which they assisted and presided [h]. And as this is the usual stile of all writers, so it is peculiarly of those, who write the history of their own country, and for the information of their own people; who have not the patience, to treat minutely of things, which they suppose to be known to their readers, as well as to themselves: and hence it sometimes happens, that the origin of customs and constitutions of the greatest

Livy betrays a partiality for the Aristocracy, and a prejudice against the People throughout his History.

[g] Duo Consules inde, comitiis centuriatis, a Præfecto Urbis, ex commentariis Servii Tullii, creati sunt. Liv. l. i. 60.

Brutus Collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium. Ibid. ii. 2.

Is Consules creavit Q. Publilius Philonem & L. Papirium Curforem. Ibid.

ix. 7.

Factum S. C. ut Q. Furius, Pont. Max. Tribunos plebis crearet. Ibid. iii. 54.

[h] Ibi exemplo, Pontifice Maximo comitia habente, Tribunos plebis creaverunt. Ibid.

importance

Livy.

importance are left dark and obscure, not onely to strangers, but even to the natives of later ages.

Dionysius the Greek, more impartial.

Romulus

The case however is different, with *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*; who professes to write for the instruction of strangers; and to explain the civil government of *Rome*, and the origin of its laws with the diligence of an Antiquary, as well as the fidelity of an Historian. This celebrated author then informs us, that when *Romulus* had formed the project of his Senate, consisting of an hundred members, he reserved to himself the nomination only of the first, or president of the assembly, and gave the choice of all the rest to the people, to be made by a vote of their Tribes and their Curia. Must we then prefer one Greek to all the Latin writers? Yes, as we prefer one credible and positive evidence, to many of a negative kind; or one, who searches things to the bottom, to any number, who, without the pains of searching, take up with the popular and vulgar accounts of things.

But of all the Roman writers, whom your Lordship has cited, as *Livy* is the chief, so he will be found perhaps to be the onely one, who in the present case deserves any regard from us; the rest of them for the most part, being but transcribers or epitomizers of him, rather than historians: so that in effect, it is the single credit of *Livy*, which, in the question before us, stands opposed to *Dionysius*, and where these two happen to differ, it cannot be difficult to decide, which of them ought to have the preference; nay, it is already decided by the judgement of all the best critics; who, upon the comparison, have universally preferred the diligence and accuracy of *Dionysius*, to the haste and negligence of *Livy* [i].

It was not the haste and Negligence, but the Avarice and Envy of Livy.

[i] Multa enim Dionysius de Romanorum ceremoniis religionibusque in Deo; non pauca de variis ritibus atque

institutis, deque eorum legibus ac tota politia accurate diligenterque scripsit, quæ Livius cæterique Historici partim

Let

Let us proceed then with our history. Upon the peace and league of union made between *Romulus* and *Tatius*, King of the *Sabins*, the number of the Senate, as *Dionysius* writes, was doubled by the addition of an hundred new members from the *Sabin* families; all chosen by the people in the same manner as before: in which account, he says, all the old writers concur, excepting a few, who declare the additional number of *Sabins* to have been only fifty [k]: which may serve as a specimen of the diligence of this author's inquiries: whereas *Livy* is not onely silent about this augmentation of the Senate, but, as your Lordship owns, expressly contradicts it. Yet all the later writers, and your Lordship with the rest, chuse to follow *Dionysius* in opposition to him: and if in this case of the augmentation, why not in the other, of the nomination of the Senators? for as far as the case can be determined by authority, the character of *Dionysius* will bear us out in adhering to him, preferably to all others; especially in points of antiquity, or things remote from their own knowledge. Let us examine therefore in the next place, what facts may be collected within this period, to confirm the testimony of *Dionysius*.

League bet. Romulus and Tatius.

All historians agree, that great powers and privileges were originally granted to the people by *Romulus*: who had no sooner secured his new city by a wall, than he began to provide laws for the citizens, because nothing else could unite a multitude into one common body [l]. This was his first care, according to *Livy*,

Is it not ridiculous to talk of Grants of Romulus to the People? Primus inter Patres among his fellows (chieftains in Robbery, he agreed to such arrangements as the leaders and their followers would approve and observe.

omnino prætermiserunt, partim leviter tantum strictimque attigerunt. H. Steph. in Dionys. c. 6.

Cujus major fides in historia, quam *Livii*, *Tranquilli*, *Taciti*, *Arriani*. Ant. Possévin.

Multis argumentis mihi persuasi, antiquissima hæc populi Romani gesta longe diligentius a *Dionysio*. Onuph.

Panvin. Comm. in Fast. p. 62.

See the testimonies of authors prefixed to Hudson's edit. of *Dionysius*.

[k] Lib. ii. 47. Edit. Hudson.

[l] Vocata ad concilium multitudo, quæ coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla alia re, præterquam legibus poterat, jura dedit. Liv. i. 8.

Tribes and Curiae

and one of his first laws, according to *Dionysius*, was, to divide the people into *three tribes*, and each tribe into *ten Curiae*, for the more convenient method of voting and transacting the public business in their assemblies [1]. He had reigned eleven or twelve years before his union with the *Sabins*: which makes it probable, that he made this division of the people before that æra; and settled what was the first thing necessary, the form of his political government.

Curia previous to the Sabines.

Each of the thirty *Curiae* of Old *Rome* had a temple or chapel, assigned to them, for the common performance of their sacrifices and other offices of religion: so that they were not unlike to our parishes. Some remains of which little temples seem to have subsisted many ages after on the Palatine hill [m], where *Romulus* first built the city, and always resided: whence *Manutius* infers, that the institution of the *Curia* was previous to the union with the *Sabins*, since these were seated separately from the Romans on the *Capitoline* and *Quirinal* hills [n]: which confirms likewise the account of *Dionysius*, and takes off, what your Lordship alledges as an objection to it, that the *Curia* were not yet established, when he supposes the Senate to have been elected by them.

*Comitia Curiata**Magistratus, Laws, War, Subjected to their Choice.*

Again, it is agreed likewise by all, that *Romulus* instituted the *Comitia Curiata*; or the public assemblies of the people, called to vote in their several *Curia*; and that the matters subjected to their decision, were, the choice of all the magistrates, and the right of making of laws, war and peace. An ample jurisdiction, and in the most important articles of government; yet not wholly absolute, as *Dionysius* says, unless the Senate concurred with them [o].

Senatus Populusque.

But this method of transacting all the greater affairs by the

[1] *Dionys.* l. ii. 7.[m] *Tacit. Annal.* xii. 24.[n] *Dionys.* l. ii. 50.[o] *Id.* c. xiv.

people, assembled in their *Curia*, after it had subsisted through five successive reigns, was found to be inconvenient. For in assemblies so constituted, where every individual had an equal vote, the issue of all deliberations must depend of course on the poorer sort, who are always the most numerous, though not always the most reasonable or incorrupt; so that *Servius Tullius*, the sixth King, in order to correct this inconvenience, instituted a new division of the people into *six classes*, according to a *census*, or valuation of their estates: then he subdivided these classes into *one hundred and ninety three centuries*, and contrived to throw a majority of these centuries, that is, *ninety eight of them*, into the first class of the richest citizens: by which regulation, though every man voted now in his *Century*, as before in his *Curia*, yet, as all matters were decided by a majority of the *Centuries*, so the balance of power was wholly transferred into the hands of the rich; and the poorer sort deprived of their former weight and influence in the affairs of state [p]: which wise institution was ever after observed through all succeeding ages, in the elections of the principal magistrates, and the determination of all the principal transactions of the Republic.

The poorer sort, always most numerous; not always most virtuous, or intelligent.

Servius Tullius's Aristocratical Trick.

gave the ballance to the rich.

This "wise Institution" however ended in the end of Liberty, and beginning of Despotism.

These facts, confirmed by all writers, shew the power of the people to have been extremely great, even under the regal government. It extended to the choice, not onely of their Kings, but of all the other Magistrates, and I find no reason to imagine, that the Senators were excepted, or none at least, sufficient to balance the contrary testimony of so grave an author as *Dionysius*.

The Power of the People was not too great in that State of the Nation.

On the demolition of *Alba* by *Tullus Hostilius*, some of the chief families of that city were enrolled likewise into the Senate. *Livy* reckons six, *Dionysius* seven [q]: and *Manutius*, to make

[p] Non enim viritum suffragium eadem vi eodemque jure promiscue omnibus datum est: sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, &

vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset.

Liv. i. 43. it. Dionys. l. iv. 20, 21.

[q] Liv. i. 30. Dionys. iii. 29.

*Distention bet. Senators
and Patricians.*

their accounts consist with what is delivered concerning the limited number of the Senate, imagines, that these *Albans* were not created Senators, but *Patricians* only, and by that means rendered capable of being chosen into the Senate on the occasion of a vacancy. But it may be supposed perhaps with more probability, that the number of *Albans*, taken into the Senate at that time, was no more than what supplied the vacancies then subsisting, so as to fill it up to it's settled complement of two hundred. This affair however, as *Dionysius* intimates, was not transacted without the consent both of the Senate and the people.

Tarquinius Priscus.

*The People had the whole
Share. Vertot is blind.*

The last augmentation of the Senate, under the Kings, was made by *Tarquinius Priscus*, who added *an hundred* new members to it, from the *Plebeian* families, and so enlarged the whole number from two to *three hundred*. He did this, as *Livy* informs us, to strengthen his particular interest, and to raise a sure faction to himself in the new Senators of his own creation [r]; whence *M. Vertot* draws a conclusion, *that the people had no share in this election* [s]. But it is incredible, that an innovation of such importance, which must needs disgust the Nobles, should be attempted and established by an elective King, if he had not been supported by the power and suffrages of the commons: and especially by a Prince, so cautious of giving jealousy to his subjects, that he would not accept the robes and ensigns of sovereign power, which were presented to him by the *Tuscan*s, whom he had subdued in war, till he had first consulted the Senate and the people, and obtained their approbation [t].

But your Lordship here remarks, that *Dionysius* himself ascribes this act to the Prince, without any mention of the people [u]: To which I answer, that after he had precisely and fre-

Livy's habit [r] *Factio haud dubia regis, cujus beneficio in curiam venerant. Liv. i. 35.* *hope.*
to things and People is equally [s] See *M. Vertot's* answer to *E. Stann-*
manifest here. [t] *Dionys. iii. 62.*
[u] *Id. 67.*

quently

quently explained the whole process of filling up the Senate, might he not think it needless to repeat the ceremonial on every occasion? might he not imagine, that what he had before so particularly described, would be applied to every subsequent case of the same kind? and when he had once settled this point, was it not natural for him, like all other writers, and for the sake of brevity, to impute the act done in consequence of it, to the principal mover and director of it? Since *Dionysius* then, the most accurate of the Roman historians, and who treats the particular question under debate more largely and clearly than any of them, is expressly on my side; and since all the rest, who seem to differ from him, touch it but slightly and incidentally, nor yet absolutely contradict him; I cannot help thinking, that, as far as authority reaches, my hypothesis must appear to be better grounded than your Lordship's.

*Dionysius is to Livy, what
Rapin is to Hume, or
Whitelocke to Clarendon.*

I shall consider therefore in the last place, how far it is confirmed by arguments, drawn from the nature and fundamental principles of the Roman government, as it was administered under the Kings. The first citizens of *Rome* were all voluntary adventurers, whom their young leader *Romulus* had no power either to force, or means to attach to his Service, but the promise of large immunities and rights, and a share with him in the administration of the common affairs. This indulgence was necessary to his circumstances; and we find accordingly, that he granted them all the privileges even of a *Democracy*; the right of making laws, war and peace, with the choice of all their magistrates; and most probably therefore of the *Senators*. Now when these rights had been once granted and possessed by the people, it is not credible, that they would ever suffer themselves to be deprived of them; or that Kings elective, and of so limited a jurisdiction, should be disposed, or able to wrest them wholly out of their hands. Their first King *Romulus* no sooner began to violate the constitutions, that he himself had made, than, as it is commonly believed, he was pri-

*Romulus agreed to a
Democracy. It might or
Power had he to grant it!*

Quere! taken off, by the Patricians? or Plebeians?

Quere! By Patricians or Plebeians?

vately taken off [x]: and their last King *Tarquinius*, by a more open and violent infringement of their liberties, not only lost his crown, but gave occasion to the utter extinction of the kingly government [y]. The intermediate Kings do not seem to have made any attempt upon the liberties of the people: for in the case abovementioned, when *Servius Tullius* contrived to reduce the authority of the poorer sort, it was to advance that of the rich; and to change onely the hands, not the power of his masters; to whom, as *Cicero* intimates, and as *Seneca*, upon his authority, declares, there lay an appeal from the magistrates, and even from the Kings themselves [z].

The Kings indeed, by virtue of their office, must needs have had a great influence over the deliberations of the people. It was their prerogative, to call the people together; to preside in their assemblies; to propose the affairs to be debated; or the persons to be elected; and to deliver their own opinion the first [a]. So that we need not wonder, that the writers, who are not treating the matter critically, should impute to them the result of all the public councils. They constantly do it in the affairs of *war and peace*, which yet was the unquestionable prerogative of the people; and when they do it therefore in the case before us, it cannot be alledged, as an argument of any weight, against the people's right of choosing the Senators.

Peoples Right of choosing Senators.

No Wonder, this doctrine did not suit the British Patrician, Senator, and Courtier, Lord Hervey!

[x] Οἱ δὲ τὰ πῶντά τε γένεσιν, πρὸς τῶν ἰδίων πολλῶν λίσσιν αὐτὸν ἀποθνήν. Dionys. ii. 56. it. Appian. de Bell. Civ. ii.

[y] Hic enim regum primus traditum a primoribus morem de omnibus Senatuum consulendi solvit; domesticis consiliis remp. administravit, bellum, pacem, fœdera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, injussu populi ac Senatûs, fecit diremitque. Liv. i. 48.

[z] Partim regis institutis, partim

etiam legibus auspicia, cœrimonix, provocaciones, &c. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. iv. 1.

[a] Æque notat, Romulæm periisse solis defectionem, Provocationem ad populum etiam a regibus fuisse. Id ita in pontificibus libris aliqui putant, & Fenestella. Senec. Epist. 108.

[a] Βαλὴν τε σιωάσεν, ἢ δῆμον συκαλεῖν ἢ γνώμης ἀρεῖν, ἢ τὰ δοξαῖα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπιτελεῖν ταῦτα μὴ ἀπίδαναι βασιλεῖ τὰ γέγρα. Dionys. l. ii. 14.

On

On the whole ; since the origin of *Rome* itself is involved in fable and obscurity, it is not strange, that the first transactions of it's citizens should also be obscure and uncertain : but upon the strictest search into the state of the present question, as it stood under the kingly government, I cannot but conclude, from the express testimony of the best historian, the concurrence of similar facts, and the probability of the thing itself, that *the right of choosing Senators* was originally and constitutionally vested in the people. *right of choosing Senators originally vested in the People.*

We are now arrived at the Consular state of *Rome* : and upon this memorable change of government, and the expulsion of their Kings, effected with such spirit and resolution by an injured people, for the recovery of their just rights, we may expect to find them in the possession of every privilege, which they could legally claim. For our reason would suggest, what all authors testify, that in the beginnings and unsettled state of this revolution, great complaisance and deference would necessarily be paid by the Senate to the body of the Commons [b]. I shall examine then, what facts and testimonies may be alledged in favor of my opinion, during this first period of the Consular government, till the creation of the Censors, which includes the space of sixty seven years. *Consular State till the Censors, 67 years.*

The first exercise of the people's power was, to elect two Consuls, to supply the place of the ejected King : who were now chosen, as they were ever after, in the *Comitia centuriata*, or by a vote of the people assembled in their centuries, according to the institution of *Servius Tullius* : and the first care of the new consuls was, to secure to the people all their rights, which their late King *Tarquin* had violated ; particularly, the decision of all the great affairs of state in their public assemblies [c]. *Consuls elected by the People in Centuries.*

P. Valerius, the Collegue of *Brutus* in the Consulate, was so

Liv. [b] Multa blandimenta plebi per id tempus a Senatu data. Liv. i. 9. [c] Dionys. v. 2.

*Poplicola the most
honest and sensible Man in
Rome whatever Lord or any
may say to the contrary in
his translation of Plutarch's letters.*

*Power of Consuls, the same
as that of Kings.*

*People careful by Nobles
while the deposed King
lived.*

*A Number of the Agesse, chosen
from the commons.*

warm an assertor of the authority of the people, that he acquired by it the name of *Poplicola* [d]. Yet happening to build his house upon an eminence, he gave umbrage to the citizens, as if he had designed it for a citadel, and affected a power dangerous to their liberty. Upon which, he demolished what he had built, and calling the people together, in order to justify himself, commanded his officers, on their entrance into the assembly, to submit and let fall *the fasces*, or ensigns of his magistracy, as an acknowledgment, that *the majesty of the Commons* was superior to that of the Consuls [e]. If the power therefore of the Consuls was the same with that of the Kings, as all the ancient writers declare [f], it is certain, that the power of the people was always superior to them both.

This was the state of things in the infancy of the Republic; in which the people were much caressed by the nobles, as long as there was any apprehension of danger from their deposed King or his family [g]: and in these circumstances, the Senate, which had been reduced, by *Tarquin's* arbitrary reign, to half it's legal number, was filled up to it's former complement of *three hundred*, by *Brutus* and *Valerius*; or by the one or the other of them, as writers differently relate it. All that *Dionysius* indeed and *Livy* say upon it, is, *that a number of the best citizens were chosen from the commons to supply the vacancies* [h]. But we cannot imagine, that an act of so great moment could pass without the special com-

[d] Qui populi majestatem venerando *Poplicolæ* nomen assecutus est. Val. Max. iv. 1.

[e] Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit, submissa sibi esse imperii insignia; confessionemque factam, populi quam Consulibus majestatem, vimque majorem esse. Liv. ii. 7. Vid. Dionys. v. 19.

[f] Sed quoniam regale civitatis genus probatum quondam, postea non tam regni quam regis vitis repudiatum est,

res manebat, cum unus omnibus magistratibus imperaret. Cic. de Legib. iii.

Libertatis autem initium inde magis, quia annum imperium Consulare factum est, quam quod diminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, omnia jura, omnia primi Consules tenuere. Liv. ii. 1.

[g] Plebi, cui ad eum diem summa ope infervitum erat. Ibid. 21.

[h] Liv. ii. 1. Dionys. v. 13.

mand

mand and suffrage of the people, at a time, when nothing else of any moment passed without it: the reason of the thing, and the power of the people in all similar cases, must persuade us of the contrary.

The next fact, that relates to our question, is, the admission of *Appius Claudius* into the Senate. He was one of the Chiefs of the *Sabin* nation, who deserted to *Rome*, with a body of his friends and dependents, to the number of five thousand; to whom the freedom of the city, and lands were publicly assigned, and to *Appius* himself a place in the Senate. *Livy* does not say, by what authority this was done; but *Dionysius*, that it was by an order of the Senate and people [i]: that is, by a previous decree of the Senate, approved and ratified by an assembly of the commons: which was the legal and regular way of transacting all the public business, from the very beginning of the Republic, and continued generally to be so, in all quiet and peaceable times, to the end of it [k].

Appius, admitted to the Senate, by order of Senate and People.

These are the only examples of filling up the Senate, from the expulsion of the Kings, to the creation of the Censors: and though we are not directly informed, by what authority they were affected, yet it is certain, that it was by the intervention and power of the people; agreeably to the express testimony of *Cicero*, and the speech of *Canuleius* the Tribune, referred to by your Lordship, wherein it is declared, that from the extinction of the Regal go-

[i] Ἀπὸ τῶν ἡβελῶν καὶ ὁ δῆμος εἰς τε τοὺς παλαιούς καὶ τοὺς νεώτους. *Dionys.* l. v. 40. *Liv.* ii. 16.

[k] Brutus ex S. Co. ad populum tulit. *Liv.* ii. 2.

Per intercessionem Collegarum, qui nullum plebiscitum nisi ex auctoritate Senatus, passuros se perferri, ostendunt, discussum est. *Liv.* iv. 49.

Potestas in populo auctoritas in Senatu

est. *Cic. de Leg.* iii.

Decreverunt Patres, ut cum populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset si patres auctores fierent: hodieque in legibus Magistratibusque rogandis, usurpatur idem jus, vi adempta, priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt. *Liv.* i. 17.

Command of the People

vernment, the admission of all members into the Senate was given by the command of the people [1].

Sixty years Hiatus.

From these augmentations just mentioned, to the institution of the Censorship, there is an interval of sixty years or more, without the mention of any review or supply of the Senate whatsoever: and yet there must have been some constant method of supplying it during that time, or it would have been wholly extinct. The Consuls, whose province it then was, to hold the *Census*, and general lustration of the citizens, as oft as they found it necessary, had, in consequence of that duty, the task also of settling the roll of the Senate at the same time. Yet there is no instance recorded, of the exercise of that power, or of any act relating to it, either by the admission or ejection of any Senators: so that the state of the Senate in this period is left wholly dark to us by the ancients, nor has been explained, as far as I know, by any of the moderns.

*Senate supplied by Quæstors
Tribunes Ædiles*

The most probable account of the matter is this; that the Senate began now to be regularly supplied by the annual Magistrates, who were instituted about this time, and chosen by the people. These were two *Quæstors* of *Patrician* families, and *five Tribuns* of the people, with two *Ædiles* of *Plebeian* families; to which *five more Tribuns* were afterwards added: and if we suppose all these to have had an admission into the Senate by virtue of their office, and consequently a right to be enrolled by the Consuls at the next lustrum, this would yield a competent supply to the ordinary vacancies of that assembly: which might receive some accession also from the *Decemviri*, who were not all *Patricians*, nor yet Senators perhaps, before their election to that magistracy. If this was the case, as I take it to have been, it will help us to account for the silence of authors about it, as being a thing, that succeeded of

Decemviri.

[1] Deligerentur autem in id consilium ab universo populo, aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium industria ac virtuti pateret. Cic. pr. Sext.

§ 137.

Aut ab regibus lecti, aut post reges exactos, jussu populi. Liv. iv. 4.

course,

course, so as to have nothing in it remarkable, or what seemed to deserve a particular recital.

The office of *Quæstor*, which was instituted the first, is always mentioned by the ancients, as the first step of honor in the Republic, and what gave an entrance into the Senate [m]. As to the *Tribuns*, it has been taken for granted, on the authority of *Valerius Maximus*, that, on their first creation, they were not admitted into the Senate, but had seats placed for them before the door, in the vestibule [n]. But we may reasonably conclude, that a Magistrate so ambitious and powerful, who could controul, by his single negative, whatever passed within doors, would not long be content to sit without. *A. Gellius* says, that they were not made Senators before the law of *Atinius* [o]; who is supposed to be *C. Atinius Labeo*, Tribun of the people, A. U. 623 [p]: but that cannot possibly be true, since it is evident from the authority of *Dionysius*, that, near four centuries before, the *Tribuns*, by the mere weight and great power of their office, had gained an actual admission into the Senate within two years after their first creation [q]: in which we find them debating and enforcing with great warmth the demands of the Commons, for a liberty of intermarriages with the nobles, and the choice of a *Plebeian Consul* [r]: so that the intent of this *Atinian* law could not be, as it

[m] *Quæstura*, primus gradus honoris. Cic. in Ver. Act. i. 4.

[n] Illud quoque memoria repetendum est, quod *Tribunis* plebis intrare Curiam non licebat: ante valvas autem positus subsellii, decreta patrum attentissima cura examinabant. Val. Max. l. ii. c. ß. 7.

[o] Nam & *Tribunis* plebis *Senatus* habendi jus erat, quamquam *Senatores* non essent, ante *Atinium Plebiscitum*. A. Gell. xiv. 8.

[p] Vid. Pighii *Annales*, A. U. 623.

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Ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντες οἱ δῆμαρχοι παρῆσαν γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ, παρακληθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων. Dionys. l. vii. 25. A. U. 263.

Καὶ τότε ἔπεισαν ἡμᾶς οἱ σύμβουλοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔσσαι παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν. Ibid. 49.

[q] Ἐπειτα συναχθέντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον οἱ σύμβουλοι, παρόντων δὲ τῶν δῆμαρχων. Dionys. l. x. 11.

[r] Liv. iv. 1, 2, 3. Dionys. xi. 57.

is commonly understood, that the Tribuns should be Senators in virtue of their office, for that they had been from the beginning, but that for the future, they should always be chosen out of the body of the Senate, or, which is the same thing, out of those, who had already born the office of *Quæstor*.

About thirteen years before the creation of the Censors, the Tribuns began to assume a right of summoning or convoking the Senate; and of propounding to them whatever they thought proper [s]. A prerogative, which the Consuls alone had ever exercised before; and which I take to be a clear proof of their being then members of the Senate: and I find also, that two Patricians, even of Consular dignity, were elected Tribuns of the people about the same time, in an extraordinary manner [t]: which can hardly be accounted for, without supposing this Magistracy to have had an admission into the Senate.

Some few years before this, upon the death of one of the Consuls and the sickness of the other, at a time of great consternation in *Rome*, the supreme power and care of the public was committed to the *Ædiles* [u]: which great deference to their office, makes it reasonable to conclude, that these magistrates also were at this time in the Senate, as they unquestionably were within a short time after. But the warm contest hinted above, about the right of electing a *Plebeian Consul*, which continued on foot for a long time, seems to demonstrate the truth of my opinion; it being wholly incredible, that the Commons should demand to have one of their body placed at the head of the Senate,

[s] Dionys. x. 31.

[t] Novi Tribuni plebis in cooptandis collegis, Patrum voluntatem fovebant: duos etiam Patricios Consularesque Sp. Tarpeium & A. Aterium cooptavere.

Liv. iii. 65.

[u] Circuitio & cura Ædilium plebei erant: ad eos summa rerum ac majestas Consularis imperii venerat. Liv. iii. 6, 7.

before

before they had obtained so much as an entrance into it, for any of the other plebeian magistrates.

I cannot omit the mention of one fact more, not foreign to our present purpose, though it did not happen till about two hundred years later; which is this; the *Flamen Dialis*, or sovereign priest of *Jupiter*, revived an ancient pretension to a seat in the Senate, in right of his office; which, by the indolence of his predecessors, had not been claimed or enjoyed for many generations. The Prætor rejected his claim, nor would suffer him to sit in that assembly: but, upon his appeal to the Tribuns, that is, to the people, his right was confirmed, and he was allowed to take his place as a Senator [x]. This case shews, that the privilege of the Senate might be annexed to an office, without any notice taken of it by the historians; for we have not the least hint from any of them, of the origin of this *Flamen's* right; nor any mention of him as a Senator, but on this very occasion: though by the manner of his appeal, the claim seems to have been grounded on some old grant from the people.

Flamen Dialis

But it may perhaps be objected, that though the annual magistrates might furnish a tolerable supply to the ordinary vacancies of the Senate, yet there must have been some other method of providing for the extraordinary deficiencies, made by the calamitous accidents of wars abroad, or sickness at home, of which there are several instances in the Roman history. In answer to which, it must be owned, that the Senate, in such particular exigencies, would demand a larger supply, than the public offices could furnish: and the method of supplying it seems to have been regulated by what the first Consuls did, upon the first enrollment and completion of the Senate: for this was probably the standing precedent; agreeably to which, all the future Consuls, as we may reasonably presume, used to pitch upon a number of the best

[x] Liv. xxvii. 8.

and most reputable citizens of the Equestrian rank, to be proposed to the choice and approbation of the people in their general assembly; who, by approving and confirming the list, gave them a complete and immediate right to the rank and title of Senators during life.

Mælius.

This will appear still more probable, by reflecting on a fact or two delivered by all the Historians. *Sp. Mælius*, who was attempting to make himself King, was one of the most wealthy and popular Commoners of the Equestrian order, yet from *Livy's* account, it is plain, that he was a Senator: for his first ambition, it is said, was only to be chosen Consul, which seems to imply it: but the Dictator's speech concerning him directly asserts it: for he observes with indignation, that *he, who had not been so much as a Tribun, and whom, on the account of his birth, the city could hardly digest as a Senator, should hope to be endured as a King* [y].

P. Licinius Calvus.

About forty years after this, *P. Licinius Calvus*, another eminent commoner, was elected one of the military Tribuns with consular authority. He was the first plebeian, who had been raised to that dignity: but history has not informed us, what particular merit it was, that advanced him to it: for as *Livy* observes, *he had passed through none of the public offices, and was only an old Senator of great age* [z]. If we should ask then, how these two Plebeians came to be made Senators, without having born any magistracy, there is no answer so probable, as that they were added to the roll of the Senate, with other eminent citizens, by the command of the people, on some extraordinary creation. For if the nomination had wholly depended on the will of any *Patrician* magistrate, it is scarce to be imagined, that he would have bestowed that honor on *Plebeian* Families.

[y] Ex equestri ordine, ut illis temporibus, prædices—cui Tribunatus plebis magis optandus quam sperandus—ut quem Senatorem concoquere civitas vix possët, regem ferret. Liv. iv. 13. 15.

[z] Vir nullis honoribus usus, vetus tamen Senator & ætate jam gravis. Liv. v. 12.

I shall procede in the next place, to consider the State of the Senate, after the establishment of the Censors, and try to reconcile my hypothesis, with the great power and authority delegated to these magistrates in the affair of creating Senators, in which the whole difficulty of the present question consists.

The people were now, as the ancient writers tells us, the sole arbiters of rewards and punishments, on the distribution of which depends the success of all governments; and in short, had the supreme power over all persons and all causes whatsoever [a]. These accounts leave no room for any exception, and make it vain to suppose, that the commons, in this height of power, would establish a private jurisdiction, to act independently and exclusively of their supremacy. But besides the proofs already alledged of their universal prerogative, we have clear evidence likewise of their special right in this very case of making Senators. The testimony of *Cicero* produced above, is decisive: and the frequent declarations, which he makes, both to the Senate and the people, that he owed all his honors, and particularly his seat in the Senate, to the favour of the people [b], are unquæstionable proofs of it. For such speeches delivered in public, and in the face of the Censors themselves, must have been considered as an insult on their authority, and provoked their animadversion,

The Success of all Governments depends on the distribution of rewards and Punishments,

[a] Quum illi & de Sempronio & de omnibus summam populi Romani potestatem esse dicerent. Liv. iv. 42.

Populus Romanus, cujus est summa potestas omnium rerum. Cic. de Harusp. respons. 6. Vide Polyb. l. vi. 462, B. Τιμῆς γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ τιμωρίας ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μόνος ὁ δῆμος κύριος, &c.

[b] Rex denique ecquis est, qui Senatorem Populi Romani tecto domo non invitet? qui honos non homini solum habetur, sed primum Populo Roma-

no, cujus beneficio in hunc ordinem venimus. In Ver. l. iv. 11.

Si populum Romanum, cujus honoribus in amplissimo concilio & in altissimo gradu dignitatis, atque in hac omnium terrarum arce collocati sumus. Post redit. in Sen. 1.

Et palam fortissime atque honestissime dicerent, se potuisse judicio populi Romani in amplissimum locum pervenire, si sua studia ad honores petendos conferre voluissent. Pr. Cluen. 56.

Vertot,

if they had not been confessedly and indisputably true. The testimony of *Cicero* is confirmed also by *Livy* [c], which gives occasion to *M. Vertot* to observe, *that the sole right of creating Senators is attributed to the people by two the most celebrated writers of the republic.* But after the acknowledgment of so great an authority, he affirms, too inconsiderately, in the very next words, *that all the facts and examples of history are clearly against it* [d]. For whatever those facts may seem to intimate, on a slight view, and at this distance of time, yet it is certain, that they must admit such an interpretation, as is consistent with a testimony so precise and authentic.

But in truth, the people's right of chusing magistrates, was the same with that of chusing Senators; since the magistrates by virtue of their office obtained a place of course in the Senate: that is, *the Quæstors, Tribuns of the people, Ædiles, Prætors, Consuls*; for this was the regular gradation or steps of honor, which every man, in the course of his ambition, was to ascend in their Order. A method, contrived with great prudence and policy; by which no man could be entrusted with the supreme power, and the reins of government, till he had given a specimen of his abilities, through all the inferior offices, and subordinate branches of it: and we find accordingly in the old Fasti or Annals, many examples of persons who had proceeded regularly through them all [e].

The young Patricians indeed, proud of their high birth, and trusting to the authority of their families, would often push at the higher offices, without the trouble of soliciting for the lower. But this was always resented and complained of by the Tribuns,

[c] Aut ab regibus lecti, [in Senaturn] aut post reges exactos, jussu populi. Liv. iv. 4.

[d] Réponse au Memoire de Ld. Stanhope.

[e] Q. Cassius Longinus was chosen Quæstor A. U. 575. Tribun of the people 580. Ædile 583. Prætor 586. Consul 589. Vide Pigh. Annal.

as an infringement of the constitution; *that the nobles in their way to the Consulship, should jump over the intermediate steps, and slight the inferior honors of Ædile and Prætor*: as in the case of *T. Quinctius Flaminius*, who, from his first preferment of *Quæstor*, was elected consul by the authority of the Senate [f]: and it was to correct this license and irregularity, that *Sylla* afterwards, by a special law, enjoined the obligation of passing through the inferior offices, as a necessary qualification for the consulship. But the practice itself did not derive its origin from this *Cornelian* law, as your Lordship seems to intimate, but was grounded on a constitution or custom of ancient standing.

Let us examine then after all, what part really belonged to the Censors, in this affair of creating Senators. This magistracy was first instituted, A. U. 311. not to take any share of power from the people, but of trouble only from the Consuls: who now began to have more of it than they could possibly discharge: and the special business of these Censors, was to ease them of the task of holding the *Census* and *Lustrum*, which the Consuls had not been able to do for seventeen years past: that is, to take a general review of the whole people, as oft as there should be occasion; to settle the several districts and divisions of the tribes; to assign to every citizen his proper rank and order, according to a valuation of his estate; and lastly, to call over the Senate, and make a fresh roll, by leaving out the names of the deceased, and adding those, who had acquired a right to fill their places; that is the magistrates, who had been elected into their offices since the last call.

But besides this task, which was purely ministerial, they had

[f] Comitia per Tribunos pl. impediabantur, quod T. Quinctium Flaminium Consulatum ex Quæstura petere non patiebantur. Jam Ædilitatem Præturamque fastidiri, nec per honorum

gradus documentum sui dantes, nobiles homines tendere ad Consulatum, sed transcendendo media inis continuare, Liv. xxxii. 7.

the

Censors Guardians of Moral.

the particular cognizance and inspection of the manners of all the citizens, and, in consequence of it, a power to censure or animadvert upon any vice or immorality, in all orders of men whatsoever; which they took an oath to discharge without favour or affection. But this power reached no farther than to inflict some public mark of ignominy, on lewd and vicious persons, in proportion to the scandal, which they had given, by degrading or suspending them from the privileges of that particular rank, which they held in the city. This was their proper jurisdiction, and the foundation of their power over the Senate; by virtue of which, they frequently purged it of some of its unworthy and profligate members; by leaving out of the new-roll, the names of those Senators, whom they found unworthy to sit in that august assembly, for the notoriety of their crimes; which they used commonly to assign, as the cause of their inflicting this disgrace [g]. There are many examples of Senators thus expelled by the Censors, generally for good reasons; yet sometimes through mere peevishness, envy, or revenge [b]: but in such cases, there was always the liberty of an appeal to the final judgement of the people. So that the Censorian power, properly speaking, was not that of making or unmaking Senators, but of enrolling only those, whom the people had made; and of inspecting their manners, and animadverting upon their vices; over which they had a special jurisdiction delegated by the people. Their rule of

[g] Censor, penes quem majores nostri judicium Senatus de dignitate esse voluerunt. Cic. pro Dom. 51.

Hic annus Censuræ initium fuit; rei a parva origine ortæ: quæ deinde tanto incremento aucta est, ut morum disciplinæque Romanæ penes eam regimen, Senatus, Equitumque centuriæ, decoris dedecorisque discrimen sub ditione ejus magistratus. Liv. iv. 8.

Patrum memoria institutum fertur, ut Censores Senatu moti adirent non

tas. Id. xxxix. 42.

[b] See the account of the Censorship of C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius Salinator, in which they both peevishly affronted and disgraced each other, and were called to an account for their administration by one of the Tribuns. Itaque ibi fœdum certamen inquinandi famam alterius cum suæ famæ damno factum est;—Cn. Babius Tribunus plebis ad populum diem utrique dedit. Liv. xxxix. 37.

censuring

cenfuring feems to have been grounded on an old maxim of the Roman policy, injoining, *that the Senate fhould be pure from all blemifh, and an example of manners to all the other orders of the city*: as we find it laid down by *Cicero* in his book of laws, which were drawn, as he tells us, from the plan of the Roman conftitution [i].

*Senate pure
Example of manners.*

It is certain, that feveral laws were made at different times to regulate the conduct of the Cenfors, of which we have now no remains. *Festus* fpeaks of one, not mentioned by any other writer, the *Ovinian law*; by which they were obliged, in making up the roll of the Senate, *to take the beft men of every order, chofen in an afsembly of the Curiae* [k]. This law was probably made foon after the creation of the Cenfors, or as foon at leaft as they began to extend their power, and ufe it arbitrarily; in order to reduce them to the original conftitution. *Cicero* takes occafion to obferve in one of his fpeeches, “ that their anceftors had provided “ many checks and restraints on the power of the Cenfors: that “ their afts were often refcinded by a vote of the people: that the “ people by marking a man with infamy, or convicting him of “ any bafe crime, deprived him at once of all future honors, and “ of all return to the Senate; but that the Cenforian animadver- “ fion had no fuch effect; and that the perfons difgraced by it “ were commonly reftored to the Senate, and fometimes made “ even Cenfors after it themfelves [l].” And in another place he fays, “ that the judgement of the Cenfors had no other force, “ than of putting a man to the blufh; and that it was called ig- “ nominy, becaufe it was merely nominal [m].”

Cicero

L. Metellus was animadverted upon by the Cenfors, while he

Metellus

[i] Cenfores probum in Senatu ne relinquant, is ordo vitio caret. Ceteris specimen efto. Cic. de Leg. iii.

[k] Donec Ovinia tribunitia inter- venit, qua fanctum eft, ut cenfores ex

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omni ordine optimum quemque curia- tim Senatu legerent. In voc. Præteriti.

[l] Pro Cluent. 42, 43, 44.

[m] Fragment. de Repub. l. iv.

F f f

WES

*Claudius Sempronius**Metellus*

was *Quæstor*: yet, notwithstanding that disgrace, was chosen Tribun of the people, the year following, A. U. 540: in which office, he called the Censors to an account before the people, for the affront, which they had put upon him; but was hindered by the other Tribuns, from bringing that affair to a trial [n]. We find likewise *C. Claudius* and *T. Sempronius* called to an account before the people for their administration in the Censorship [o]: and in a dispute between themselves, about the assignment of a proper tribe to the sons of slaves made free, *Claudius* alledged, that no Censor could take from any citizen his right of suffrage, without the express command of the people [p]. *Q. Metellus*, when Censor, left the name of *Atinius*, one of the Tribuns of the People, out of the roll of the Senate: but the Tribun, enraged by the affront, ordered the Censor to be seized and thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock; which would probably have been executed, if the other Tribuns had not rescued him. The same Tribun however took his revenge, by the solemn consecration of *Metellus's* goods [q]. Now these facts demonstrate, that the power of the Censors, instead of being absolute, as your Lordship contends, in the case of making Senators, had in reality little or no share in it; and was much limited also and restrained, in, what is allowed to be their proper jurisdiction, the affair even of unmaking or degrading them.

[n] *Extemplo Censoribus*—a L. Metello Tribuno pleb. dies dicta ad populum est. *Quæstorem* eum proximo anno tribu moverant—sed novem tribunorum auxilio, vetiti causam in magistratu dicere. Liv. xxiv. 43.

[o] Non recusantibus Censoribus, quo minus primo quoque tempore judicium de se populus faceret. Liv. xliii. 16.

[p] Negabat *Claudius* suffragii lationem injussu populi Censorem cuiquam homini, nedum ordini universo adimere

posse. Liv. xlv. 15.

[q] Atqui C. Atinius, patrum memoria, bona *Q. Metelli*, qui eum ex Senatu Censor ejecerat—consecravit; fœculo posito in rostris, adhibitoque tibicine. Cic. pr. Dom. 47.

Q. Metellus—ab C. Atinio Labeone—revertens e campo, meridiano tempore, vacuo foro & Capitolio, ad *Tarpeium* raptus ut præcipitaretur, &c. Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. 44.

Let us inquire therefore, on what reasons *M. Vertot* has so peremptorily declared, that the facts and examples of history are contrary to this notion of the people's power, in the case under debate. By these facts, he means the instances of Senators created and expelled by the sole authority of the Censors, without any apparent consent or interposition of the people: and so far it must be allowed, that they seldom made a new roll of the Senate, without striking several out of it, as either their own tempers, or the particular condition of the times, disposed them to more or less severity: and their administration was usually reckoned moderate, when *three or four* only were so disgraced by them [r]. But it must always be remembered, that the ejected Senators had the right of an appeal and redress from the people, if they thought themselves injured; and if they did not take the benefit of it, we may impute it to a distrust of their cause, and a consciousness of their guilt.

Vertot

Cato the elder, when Censor, struck *seven* out of the roll of the Senate: and among the rest, one of Consular dignity; the brother of the great *T. Flamininus*. But the high quality of the person disgraced, obliged *Cato* to set forth the greatness of his crime in a severe speech; on which *Livy* remarks, "that, if he had made the same speech, by way of accusation, to the people, before his animadversion, which he made afterwards, to justify it, even *T. Flamininus* himself, if he had then been Censor, as he was in the preceding Lustrum, could not have kept his brother in the Senate." In the end of this speech, *Cato* puts the ejected Senator in mind, "that, if he denied the fact, with which he was charged, he might defend himself, by bringing the matter to a trial; if not, no body would think him

Cato the Censor.

[r] Cenfores T. Quintius Flamininus & M. Claudius Marcellus Senatum perlegerunt: quatuor soli præteriti sunt,

nemo curuli honore usus, & in equitatu recensendo mitis admodum censura fuit. Liv. xxxviii. 28.

“too severely treated [s].” This case shews, what was the legal and ordinary method of relief, as well as the reason, why few perhaps were disposed to make use of it.

The Censors were generally men of the first dignity in the city, and always of Consular rank; so that their acts had naturally a great weight: and the severity of their discipline was considered by the honesty of all orders, as a great guard and security to the Republic: and when they acted even on spitefull and peevish motives, yet the parties injured would not always take the trouble of going through a trial, since they could be relieved without it, either by the next Censors, as they commonly were [t]; or by obtaining a new magistracy, in the next annual elections; by which they were restored of course to the Senate. But if any of these animadversions continued to have a lasting effect, it was always owing to an universal approbation of them from all the orders of the city: for whenever they appeared to be violent or grossly unjust, neither the Senate nor the people would endure them for a moment.

Appius Claudius.

Thus when *Appius Claudius* the Censor, [A. U. 441.] upon some extraordinary deficiency in the Senate, filled up the new roll with some of those citizens, *whose grandfathers had been slaves*, contrary to the established rule and practice of the city, *there was not a soul*, as *Livy* says, who *looked upon that enrollment as valid* [u]: and the first thing, that the next Consuls did, was, to annul it by an appeal to the people, and to reduce the Senate to the old list, as it was left by the preceding Censors [w].

[s] Liv. xxxix. 42, 43.

[t] Eorum notam successores per-
rumque solvebant. Afcon. in Divi-
pat. iii.

[u] Appii Claudii censura vires na-
qui Senatum primus libertinorum filiis
inquinaverat: & posteaquam eam lecti-

onem nemo ratam habuit.—Liv. ix. 46.

[w] Itaque Consules — initio anni,
questi apud populum deformatum ordi-
nem prava lectione Senatus,—negave-
runt eam lectionem se, quæ sine recti pra-
vique discrimine, ad gratiam libidinemque
facta esset, observaturos—Ibid. 30.

The

The office of Censor, at it's first institution, was designed to be *quinquennial*, or to continue in the same hands for five years ; but this length of magistracy, unknown before to *Rome*, was reduced soon after to one year and an half, by a law of *Mamercus Æmilius*, the Dictator : which regulation, though popular, provoked the Censors so highly, that, in revenge for this abridgment of their authority, they put the last disgrace upon the Dictator himself, by turning him even out of his tribe, and depriving him of his vote as a citizen. But a proceeding so extravagant was immediately overruled, nor suffered to have the least effect : and the people were so enraged at it, that they would have torn the Censors in pieces, had they not been restrained by the authority of *Mamercus* himself [x] : who, within eight years after, was made Dictator again for the third time. *So little regard was paid*, as *Livy* observes, *to the Censorian mark of disgrace, when it was inflicted unworthily* [y] : and about a century after, we find one of the Tribuns speaking of this same fact, 'as a proof of the mischief, which the violence of these magistrates might do in the Republic [z].

I have hitherto been explaining the ordinary power and jurisdiction of the Censors, as far as it related to the creation of Senators. But as under the Consuls, so under these Magistrates, there must have been, as I observed, some extraordinary creations, made to supply the extraordinary vacancies, occasioned by wars and contagious distempers : and in all such cases, it was certainly a standing rule, to draw out out a list of the best men from all the orders of the city, to be proposed to the suffrage and approbation of the people, in their general assembly.

[x] Populi certe tanta indignatio coorta dicitur, ut vis a Censoribus nullius auctoritate præterquam ipsius Mamerci, deterreretur quiverit. Liv. iv. 25.

[y] Adeo — nihil censoria animadversio effecit, quo minus regimen rerum

ex notata indigne domo peteretur. Ibid. 30.

[z] Tenuit Æmilia lex violentos illos Censores—qui, quid iste magistratus in Repub. mali facere possent, indicarunt, &c. lb. 34.

M. Fabius Buteo
Dictator

We meet with no account indeed of any such extraordinary creation, under the authority of the Censors; nor even of any ordinary one, till one hundred and twenty years after their first institution, in the Censorship of *Appius Claudius*: yet from the reason of the thing we may fairly presume, that there had been several instances of both kinds. We read of a Dictator chosen for that very purpose, A. U. 537, at a time, when there were no Censors in office, and when the Senate was reduced by the war with *Hannibal*, to less than half of its usual complement. This Dictator, *M. Fabius Buteo*, being a prudent and moderate man, resolved to take no step beyond the ordinary forms. "Wherefore" he immediately ascended the *Rostra*, and in an assembly of the "people, called thither for that occasion, ordered the last Censorian roll of the Senate to be transcribed and read over, without striking one name out of it: and gave this reason for it, that it was not fit for a single man, to pass a judgement upon the reputation and manners of Senators, which belonged by law to two. "Then in the place of the dead, he first added those who had been any *Curule Magistracy* since the last call; after them, the *Tribuns*, *Ædiles*, and *Quæstors*; and lastly those, who had not been any of these offices, but had served with honor in the wars, and could shew spoils taken from the enemy, or a Civic crown: and having thus added an hundred and seventy seven new members to the old list, with the universal approbation of the assembly, he laid down his office [a]."

M. Vertot argues, that this nomination of Senators was the pure act and deed of the Dictator, or otherwise there could be no reason to praise him for it: which he confirms, by shewing also, on the other hand, that the blame of a bad choice was imputed likewise to the magistrate; as in the case of *Appius Claudius*, when he attempted to introduce the grandsons of slaves into the Se-

[a] Liv. xxiii. 33.

nate [b]. But this reasoning is not well grounded ; for though praise or blame would naturally fall upon the magistrate, in proportion, as what he recommended and attempted to enact, happened to deserve the one or the other, yet these two cases shew, that the approbation or dislike of the people did not terminate in the mere praise or dispraise of the magistrate ; but affected the very essence and validity of his act : for in the first case, where the people approved, the act stood firm, and had it's effect ; but in the other, where they disapproved, it was presently annulled and rescinded.

There was another extraordinary creation of Senators made by *Sylla*, the Dictator, in order to fill up the Senate, exhausted by *Sylla Dictator* his proscriptions and civil wars, with *three hundred new members from the Equestrian rank* : the choice of whom he gave intirely to the people, in an assembly of their tribes, which of all elections was the most free. His design, without doubt, was, to make them some amends for his other violences, by paying this respect to their ancient rights and liberties [c].

There is a third augmentation also, prior to that of *Sylla*, mentioned by the epitomizer of *Livy*, and ascribed to *C. Gracchus* [d], *C. Gracchus* by which *six hundred of the Equestrian rank* are said to have been added to the Senate at once. But this cannot be true, as being contrary to the testimony of all the old writers, who speak of nothing more, than that the right of judicature, which had belonged to the Senate, from the time of the Kings, was transferred by *Gracchus* to the *Knights, in common with the Senators* ; so that *three hundred* were to be taken from each order, out of whom the judges in all causes should be chosen promiscuously by lot [e].

[b] See Réponse au Memoire de Lord Stanhope.

[c] Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 413.

[d] Lib. ix.

[e] Μόνοι γὰρ ἔλανον τὰς δίκας, [οἱ

συγκλητικοί] ἢ διὰ τῶν Φοβερῶν τῷ δήμῳ ἢ πρὸς ἱππέων ἥσαν· ὁ δὲ τελακοσίς τῶν ἱππέων προσκατέλεξεν αὐτοῖς, ὅσι τελακοσίσις, ἢ τὰς κρείσσις κοινὰς τῶν

This

This was the act of *C. Gracchus*, which continued in force to the time of *Sylla*; and it was this, probably, which led that writer into his mistake: but if any augmentation of the Senate had been made at the same time, it is certain, that it must have been made by the power of the people; which no man ever asserted so strenuously, or carried so high, as this very *Gracchus*.

These extraordinary creations of Senators, made with the consent and approbation of the people, in their general assemblies, may be presumed to have passed according to the forms of the constitution, and consequently, point out to us the regular method of proceeding in ordinary cases. But the augmentation made by *Sylla*, as it enlarged the number of the Senators beyond what it had ever been, so it gave an admission to many, who were unworthy of that honour [f]: and the general corruption of manners, introduced by the confusion and licence of those turbulent times, made it necessary to revive the office and ancient discipline of the Censors [g], which had lain dormant for seventeen years past: in which the new Censors, *L. Gellius*, and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, exercised their power with more severity, than had ever been known before: for they left *sixty four* out of the roll of the Senate; of whom *C. Antonius* was one, who, within seven years after, was chosen Consul, together with *Cicero*; and *P. Lentulus* another, who, as I have said above, was chosen Prætor again after that disgrace, and in that office, put to death for conspiring with *Catiline*. *Cicero* speaks of several more, who were degraded by the same Censors, for a charge of bribery and extortion in their judicial capacity; yet were all, not onely restored to the Senate, but acquitted also afterwards of those very crimes in a legal trial [h].

ἐξαπορίαν ἐποίησε. Plutar. in Vit. C. Gracch.

[f] Judicum culpa atque dedecore etiam Censorium nomen, quod asperius antea populo videri solebat, id nunc poscitur, id jam populare atque plausibile

factum est. Cic. in Cæcil. Divinat. iii.

[g] Βελὴν τε ὅ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιπορότων ἀνθρώπων συνέστησε, Σύλλα. Dionys. l. v. 57.

[h] Quos autem ipse *L. Gellius* & *Cn. Lentulus*, duo Censores—furti &

The

The severity of this Censorship furnished a pretext not long after to *P. Clodius*, for procuring a law, to prohibit the Censors, from striking any one out of the roll of the Senate, or disgracing him in any manner, upon the report of common fame, or the notoriety of any crime, *till he had been formally accused and found guilty by the common judgement of both the Censors* [i]. *Cicero* frequently inveighs against this law, and reflects severely on *Clodius*, for abridging or abolishing a salutary power, that had subsisted four hundred years, and was necessary to support the credit and dignity of the Senate [k]. But in this, perhaps, he was influenced rather by his resentment against his inveterate enemy, the author of it, than by any iniquity of the law itself, which seems to have been a reasonable one in a free state.

Clodius.

Now from all these facts and testimonies we may collect, what was the proper part of the Censors in the affair of creating Senators. For in the ordinary way of making them, they had nothing more to do, than to enroll the names of those, who had born the public offices, since the last call or review of the Senate: and to degrade them, was to leave them onely out of the roll, when, by the notoriety of their crimes, they had shewn themselves unworthy of that high rank, to which the Roman people had advanced them. But that they had no right of creating them, is plain from the case of the *Flamen Dialis*; who upon the opposition made to his claim, did not seek redress from the Censors, but the Tribuns; that is, from the people, as the sovereign

Flamen Dialis.

captarum pecuniarum nomine notaverunt: ii non modo in Senatum redierunt, sed etiam illarum ipsarum rerum judiciis absoluti sunt. Cic. p. Cluent. 42.

[i] Τις ἢ Τιμῆς ἀπηνέχρουσι, μητ' αἰπ. τιθεῖν ἐν τῇ τίσιν, μητ' ἀτιμάζειν μηδὲν.

V

φύλοισι σφίσι κελεύεις αἰλοῖν. Dio. l. xxxvii. p. 66. E.

[k] Ab eodem homine, in stupris inauditis, nefariisque versato, vetus illa magistra pudoris & modestiæ, severitas censoria subverta est. In Pison. iv. Pro Sext. 25.

G o g

judges

Cicero

judges of the affair. Lastly, the description given by *Cicero*, of the Censorian jurisdiction in all it's branches, is exactly conformable to my hypothesis : for he assigns them no part in the creation of Senators, nor any other power over that body, than what flowed from their right of inspecting the manners of all the citizens. *Let them govern, says he, the morals of the city, and leave no stain or scandal in the Senate* [1].

Censors Power

But I must not forget to acknowledge, that, though the public magistrates had a right, by virtue of their office, to a place in the Senate, yet they could not, in a strict sense, be esteemed complete Senators, till they had been enrolled by the Censors at the next lustrum. This is the sole reason, for which the writers commonly ascribe an absolute power to the Censors in the case of making Senators ; not considering, that the enrollment was but a matter of form, which was never denied or could be denied to any, but for some notorious immorality : and that a right of creating and degrading Senators by a plenitude of power, is a quite different thing, from that of enrolling onely those, whom others had created, or rejecting them for a charge of crimes, which had rendered them unworthy of that honor, to which they had been raised by a different authority. For the part of enrolling or striking out the names of Senators, was all that the Censors had to do in this affair, in which they were still subject to the final judgement of the people, and liable to be obstructed in the discharge of it, by any of the Tribuns [m].

Besides this task of enrolling the Senators, and inspecting their manners, it was a part likewise of the Censorian jurisdiction, *to let out to farm all the lands, revenues, and customs of the Republic ; and to contract with artificers, for the charge of building and repairing all the public works and ædifices, both in Rome and the colo-*

[1] *Mores populi regunto : probrum in Senatu ne relinquo.* Cic. de Leg. iii. 3.

[m] Dio, l. xxxvii. p. 33. D. Cn. Tremellius Tribunus, quia lectus non erat in Senatum, intercessit. Liv. xlv. 15.

nies of Italy [n]. Now in this branch of their office, it is certain, that they acted merely under the authority of the people, and were prohibited by law, *to let out any of the revenues, except in the Rostra, under the immediate inspection, and in the very presence of the people* [o]. In consequence of which, when *Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the Censors, was ordering some great and expensive works, more arbitrary than the law would regularly warrant, his Colleague *Posthumius* refused to join with him, and declared, that he would not engage himself in any contracts, to the wast of the public treasure, *without an express order of the Senate and the people, whose treasure it was* [p]. If the Censors then, in these inferior articles of their administration, were obliged to act under the immediate controul and inspection of the people, and as ministers onely of the people's will, we may reasonably infer, that they could not act in any other capacity, in the more important affair, of making and unmaking Senators.

Flaccus

Posthumius

Again, in the general census and review of the city, held by them every five years, though every single citizen was particularly summoned and enrolled by name, in his proper tribe, as a freeman of *Rome*, yet that solemn enrollment, as *Cicero* tells us, *did not confirm any man's right to a citizenship, but signified onely, that he had passed for a citizen at that time* [q]. Because the proper power of determining that right resided always in the peo-

Cicero

[n] Cenfores interim Romæ---farta
tefta acriter & cum fumma fide exege-
runt, viam e foro Boario ad Veneris, &
circa foros publicos & ædem Matris Mag-
næ in Palatio faciendam locaverunt. Vec-
tigal etiam novum ex Salaria annona
ftatuerunt, &c. Liv. xxix. 37. Polyb.
l. vi. 464. C.

[o] Cenforibus vectigalia locare, nifi
in confpectu populi Romani non licet.
Cic. de Leg. Agrar. i. 3. Vectigalia nuf-
quam locare licet, nifi ex hoc loco, [ex

Roftris] hac veftitum frequentia. Ib. ii.
21.

[p] Alter ex iis Fulvius Flaccus, (nam
Posthumius nihil nifi Senatus Romani po-
pulative juffu fe locaturum ipforum pe-
cunia dicebat) Jovis ædem Pifauri &
Fundis, &c. Liv. xli. 27.

[q] Sed quoniam Cenfus non jus civi-
tatis confirmat, ac tantummodo indicat,
eum, qui fit cenfus, ita fe jam tum gef-
fiffe pro cive. Cic. pr. Arch. 5.

ple [r]: whence we may conclude likewise by a parity of reason, that the Censorian roll of the Senate did not either confer or take away any one's right to that high order, unless it were confirmed, either by the presumed consent, or express command of the Roman people.

But though the magistrates of the city had a right to a place and vote in the Senate, as well during their office, as after it, and before they were put upon the roll by the Censors, yet they had not probably a right, to speak or debate there on any question, at least in the earlier times of the Republic. For this seems to have been the original distinction between them and the ancient Senators, as it is plainly intimated in the *formule* of the Consular edict, sent abroad to summon the Senate, which was addressed to *all Senators, and to those, who had a right to vote in the Senate* [s]. From which distinction, these last, who had only a right to vote, were called, by way of ridicule, *Pedarians*; because they signified their votes by their feet, not their tongues; and upon every division of the house, went over to the side of those, whose opinion they approved [t]. It was in allusion to this old custom, which seems however to have been wholly dropt in the later ages of the Republic, that the mute part of the Senate continued still to be called by the name of *Pedarians*, as we learn from *Cicero*, who, in giving an account to *Atticus*, of a certain debate and decree of the Senate upon it, says, that *it was made with the eager and general concurrence of the Pedarians, though against the authority of all the Consulars* [u].

Pedarians.

Cicero.

[r] Mutines etiam Civis Rom. factus, rogatione ab Tribunis pl. ex auctoritate Patrum, ad plebem lata. Liv. x. 52.

[s] Consules edixerunt, quoties in Senatum vocassent, uti *Senatores, quibusque in Senatu dicere sententiam liceret*, ad portam Capenam convenirent. Liv. xxiii. 32. it xxxvi. 3. Festus in voc. Senatores. ---A. Gell. l. iii. 18.

[t] Non pauci sunt qui arbitrantur *Pedarios* Senatores appellatos, qui sententiam in Senatu non verbis dicerent, sed in alienam sententiam pedibus irent, &c. Vid. A. Gell. ibid.

Ita appellatur, quia tacitus transeundo ad eum, cujus sententiam probat, quid sentiat, indicat. Fest. in *Pedarius*.

[u] Est enim illud S. C. *summa Peda-*

From

From the distinction, signified above, in *the form* of summoning the Senate, it may not perhaps be improbable, that on certain urgent occasions, in which an extraordinary dispatch or secrecy was required in their counsils, the latter part of the edict might be omitted, and none but the old and proper Senators called to the meeting: and if this was the case, as some writers have imagined [x], it will clear up the difficulty of a story in *Valerius Maximus*, which has greatly perplexed all those, who have treated this question and is thus related; “*Q. Fabius Maximus*, on his return from the Senate, happening to meet with “*P. Crassus*, told him, by way of news, what had been “resolved secretly about the *Punic war*, remembering, that “*Crassus* had been *Quæstor* three years before, and not knowing, that he had not yet been put upon the roll of the Censors, “and so had no right to be in the Senate: for which *Fabius* was “severely reprimanded by the Consuls [y].” For *Valerius* must not be understood to assert, that the *Quæstors* had no right to an admission into the Senate, till they were enrolled by the Censors: since it appears from unquestionable facts and testimonies, drawn from the practice, at least, of the later ages of the Republic, that they had not onely an entrance and vote in it, but a free liberty of speaking also, or debating on all questions: so that I see no way of accounting for the offence committed by *Fabius*, in giving part of the deliberation to *P. Crassus*, but that it was one of that *secret kind* [x], to which the old Senators onely used to be summoned in the early ages.

Fabius

Crassus

riorum voluntate, nullius nostrum auctoritate factum. Ad Att. i. 19.

[x] Vid. Pighii Annales, tom. i. p. 72.

[y] Val. Max. ii. 2.

[z] *J. Capitolinus* mentions a decree of the Senate of this *secret kind*, which he calls *S. C. tacitum*, and says, that the use of them among the ancients was derived from the necessities of the public,

when, upon some imminent danger from enemies, the Senate was either driven to some low and mean expedients, or to such measures, as were proper to be executed before they were published, or such as they had a mind to keep secret even from friends; on which occasions they commonly recurred to a *tacit decree*, from which they excluded their clerks and servants, performing that part them-

S. C. tacitum

But

Many Examples.

Marius.

Cicero

Clodius.

Curio

Cato.

But that the *Quæstors* had a direct admission into the Senate, and were stiled and treated as Senators, and had a liberty also of speaking in their turn, as well the rest, is evident, as I have said, from many clear facts and testimonies. For instance, *C. Marius*, as the same *Valerius* says, not being able to procure any magistracy in *Arpinum*, his native city, ventured to sue for the *Quæstorship* at Rome, which he obtained at last after many repulses, and so forced his way into the Senate, rather than came into it [a]. Cicero after he had been *Quæstor*, being elected *Ædile*, as soon as he was capable, declares in one of his speeches, how by that advancement, he had gained a higher rank and earlier turn of delivering his opinion in the Senate [b]: which implies, that he had a right of speaking there before, when *Quæstor*, though later only in point of time, and after the other magistrates. In another speech, he stiles *P. Clodius*, a Senator, while he was only of *Quæstorian* rank [c]: and in a congratulatory letter to *Curio* at Rome, upon his election to the *Tribunate*, taking occasion to renew a request, which he had made to him in former letters, when he had only been *Quæstor*, he says, that he had asked it of him before, as of a Senator of the noblest birth, and a youth of the greatest interest, but now of a *Tribun* of the people, who had the power to grant what he asked [d]. Lastly, *M. Cato*, as *Plutarch* writes, when he was *Quæstor* of the city, never failed to attend the Senate, for fear, that any thing should pass in his absence to the detriment of the

selves, lest any thing should get abroad. *Capitolin. de Gordianis*, c. 12. In the early times of the Republic there are several instances mentioned by historians, of such private meetings of the Senate, summoned by the Consuls to their own houses, to which none but the old or proper Senators were admitted, and of which the *Tribuns* usually complained. *Vid. Dionys. l. x. 40. l. xi. 55, 57.*

[a] Patientia deinde repulsarum, irrupit magis in Curiam quam venit. *Id. l. vi. 9, 14.*

[b] Antiquiorem in Senatu sententiæ dicendæ locum. *In Verr. v. 14.*

[c] Adoptat annos viginti natus Senatorem. *Pr. Dom. 13, 14.*

[d] Itemque petivi sæpius per litteras, sed tum quasi a Senatore Nobilissimo--- nunc a *Tribuno plebis*. *Ep. Fam. ii. 7.*

public

public treasure, of which he was then the guardian [e]: which seems to imply, that he was not onely a Senator in virtue of his office, but had the liberty of acting or speaking there, if he had found occasion.

Before I put an end to my argument, I must add a word or two, on what your Lordship has incidentally touched, *the number of the Senate, and the qualifications of a certain age and estate, required in it's members by law.*

Number

As to it's number, it is commonly supposed to have been limited to *three hundred*, from the time of the Kings to that of the *Gracchi*. But this must not be taken too strictly: it generally had that number, or thereabouts, and upon any remarkable deficiency, was filled up again to that complement by an extraordinary creation. But as the number of the public magistrates increased with the increase of their conquests and dominions, so the number of the Senate, which was supplied of course by those magistrates, must be liable also to some variation. *Sylla*, as we have seen above, when it was particularly exhausted, added *three hundred* to it at once from the Equestrian order: which might probably raise the whole number to about *five hundred*: and in this state it seems to have continued, till the subversion of their liberty by *J. Cæsar*. For *Cicero*, in an account of a particular debate, in one of his letters to *Atticus*, mentions *four hundred and fifteen* to have been present at it, which he calls a *full house* [f].

300

500

415

That there was a certain age also required for a Senator, is

Age

[e] Plutar. in Vit. Caton.

[f] Cum decerneretur frequenti Senatui---ut Consules populum cohortarentur ad rogationem accipiendam, homines ad xv Curioni nullum S. C. facienti assenserunt; ex altera parte facile cccc. fuerunt. Ad Att. l. i. 14.

Cicero likewise in reckoning up the number of Senators, who were in *Pompey's* camp, distinguishes them by their several ranks, of *Consular*, *Prætorian*, *Ædilitian*, *Tribunitian*, and *Questorian* Senators. Philip. xiii. 14.

often

28

often intimated by the old writers, though none of them have expressly signified what it was. The legal age for entering into the military service, was settled by *Servius Tullius* at seventeen years [g]: and they were obliged, as *Polybius* tells us, to serve ten years in the wars, before they could pretend to any civil magistracy [h]. This fixes the proper age of suing for the *Quæstorship*, or the first step of honor, to the twenty-eighth year: and as this office gave an admission into the Senate, so the generality of the learned seem to have given the same date to the Senatorian age. Some writers indeed, on the authority of *Dion Cassius*, have imagined it to be *twenty-five years*: not reflecting, that *Dio* mentions it there as a regulation only, proposed to *Augustus*, by his favorite *Mæcenas* [i].

30
Cicero

Pompey.

But for my part, as far as I am able to judge, from the practice of the Republic in it's later times, I take the *Quæstorian age*, which was the same with the *Senatorian*, to have been *thirty years* complete. For *Cicero*, who declares in some of his speeches, that he had acquired all the honors of the city, without a repulse in any, and each in his proper year, or as soon as he could pretend to it by law, yet did not obtain the *Quæstorship*, till he had passed through his thirtieth year [k]: and when *Pompey* was created Consul, in an extraordinary manner, and by a special dispensation, in his *thirty-sixth* year, without having born any of the subordinate dignities, *Cicero* observes upon it, that he was chosen into the highest magistracy, before he was qualified by the laws to hold even the lowest [l]: by which he means the *Ædileship*;

[g] A. Gellius x. 28.

[h] Polyb. de Instit. rei milit. l. vi. p. 466.

[i] Vid. Dio. l. lii. p. 477. Lips. de magistratib. Rom.

[k] *Cicero* was born A. U. 647. obtained the *Quæstorship* A. U. 677. which he administered the year followingin Sicily. See Life of *Cicero*, vol. i. p. 57. Quarto. Pighii Annales.

[l] Quid tam singulare, quam ut legibus solutus ex S. consulto Consul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere dicisset. Cic. pr. Lege Manii. xx

which

which was the first office, that was properly called a magistracy, and what could not regularly be obtained, till after an interval of *five years* from the *Quæstorship*.

But my notion seems to be particularly confirmed by the tenor of certain laws, given at different times by the Roman governors, to foreign nations, relating to the regulation of their particular Senates: for the *Halefini*, a people of *Sicily*, as the story is told by *Cicero*, "having great quarrels among themselves, about the choice of their Senators, petitioned the Senate of *Rome*, to give them some laws concerning it. Upon which the Senate decreed, that their Prætor *C. Claudius* should provide laws for them accordingly; in which laws many things, he says, were enacted, concerning their age; that none, under thirty years, none, who exercised any trade, none, who had not an estate to a certain value, should be capable of the Senate." *Scipio* likewise, as he tells us, gave laws of the same kind, and with the same clauses in them, to the people of *Agrigentum* [*m*]: and lastly, *Pliny* mentions a law of *Pompey the Great*, given on a like occasion to the *Bithynians*, importing, "that none should hold any magistracy, or be admitted into their Senate under the age of thirty; and that all, who had born a magistracy, should be of course in the Senate [*n*]." All which clauses clearly indicate, from what source they were derived, and shew, what every one would readily imagine, that a Roman magistrate would naturally give them Roman laws.

Halefini

Scipio

Pompey

Cicero says, that the laws concerning the age of magistrates

Cicero.

[*m*] *C. Claudius*—leges *Halefinis* dedit: in quibus multa sanxit de ætate hominum, ne qui minor triginta annis natu, &c.

Agrigentini de Senatu cooptando, *Scipionis* leges antiquas habent, in quibus & eadem illa sancta sunt, &c. In

Verr. ii. 49.

[*n*] Cautum est, Domine, *Pompeii* lege, quæ *Bithynis* data est, nequis capiat magistratum, neve sit in Senatu, qui minor annis xxx sit; & ut qui ceperint magistratum, sint in Senatu. Ad *Trajan. Ep. l. x. 83.*

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H h h

were

were not very ancient; and were made, to check the forward ambition of the nobles, and to put all the citizens upon a level in the pursuit of honors [o]: and *Livy* tells us, that *L. Villius*, a Tribune of the people, was the first, who introduced them, A. U. 573, and acquired by it the surname of *Annalis* [p]: But long before this, we find an intimation of some laws, or customs of that kind subsisting in *Rome*: and in the very infancy of the Republic, when the Tribuns were first created, the Consuls declared in the Senate, that they would shortly correct the petulance of the young nobles, by a law, which they had prepared, to settle the age of the Senators [q].

Estate

6. 07 7000 £.

There was another qualification also required, as necessary to a Senator; an estate, proper to support his rank; the proportion of which was settled by the law: but I do not any where find, when this was first instituted, nor even what it was, in any author before *Suetonius*; from whom we may collect, that it was settled at eight hundred *sestertia*, before the reign of *Augustus* [r]: which are computed to amount to between six and seven thousand pounds of our money; and must not be taken, as it is by some, for an annual income, but the whole estate of a Senator, real and personal, as estimated by the survey and valuation of the Censors.

This proportion of wealth may seem perhaps too low, and un-

[o] Itaque majores nostri, veteres illi admodum antiqui, leges annales non habebant, &c. Phil. v. 17.

[p] Eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab *L. Villio*, Tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque magistratum peterent, caperentque. inde cognomen familiae inditum, ut *Annales* appellarentur. Lib. xl. 44.

[q] Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνέλεγον

μεν αὐτῶν ἀνοσμίων νόμῳ, τάχα νῦν αἰεθμὸν ἱτῶν ὃν δεήσει τὰς βυλαδούλιας ἔχων. Dionys. l. vi. 66.

Senatorium gradum census ascendere fecit.

[r] Senatorum censum ampliavit; [Augustus] ac pro octingentorum milium summa, duodecies H S taxavit, supplevitque non habentibus. Sueton. in Aug. c. 41.

equal

equal to the high rank and dignity of a Roman Senator; but it must be considered only as the lowest, to which they could be reduced: for whenever they sunk below it, they forfeited their seats in the Senate. But as low as it now appears, it was certainly sufficient, at the time when it was first settled, to maintain a Senator suitably to his character, without the necessity of recurring to *any trade or sordid arts of gain*, which were likewise prohibited to him by the laws [s.] But the constitution itself does not seem to have been very ancient; for we may easily imagine, that in those earlier days, when the chief magistrate was sometimes taken from the plough [t], and Corn. Rufinus, who had been Dictator and twice Consul, was expelled the Senate by C. Fabricius the Censor, A. U. 477, because he had ten pounds of silver plate in his house [u], no particular preference could be given to wealth in the choice of a Senator: and we find Pliny accordingly lamenting the unhappy change, when their Senators, their Judges,

Pliny, virtuous lamentation

[s] Invisus Patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius Trib. pl. adversus Senatum, uno Patrum adjuvante, C. Flaminius, tulerat, ne quis Senator, quive Senatoris pater fuisset, maritimam navem, quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos. quæstus omnis Patribus indecorus visus. Liv. xxi. 63. Noli metuere, Hortensi, ne quæram, qui licuerit navem ædificare Senatori. Cic. Verr. v. 18.

N. B. It is certain, that the Senators generally possessed a much larger proportion of wealth, than what is computed above: for in the fifth year of the second Punic war, A. U. 539. it was decreed by the Senate, that every citizen, who, at the preceding Census, or general taxation of the city, was found to be worth from 400 l. to 800 l.

of our money, should furnish one sailor with six months pay towards manning the fleet; that those, who were rated from 800 l. to 2400 l. should furnish three sailors, with a year's pay; that those, who were rated from 2400, to 8000 l. should furnish five sailors; that all, who were rated above that sum, should furnish seven; and that all Senators should furnish eight, with a year's pay. Liv. xxiv. 11.

[t] Si illis temporibus natus esses, cum ab aratro arcessebantur, qui Consules fierent. Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. 18.

[u] Ab eo Cornelium Rufinum duobus Consulatus & Dictatura speciosissime functum, quod decem pondo argentea vasa comparasset, in ordine Senatorio retentum non esse.—Val. Max. l. ii. 9. A. Gell. xvii. 21.

H h h 2

and

and their Magistrates came to be chosen by the value of their estate, since from that moment, all regard began to be lost for every thing, that was truly estimable and laudable in life [x]. This qualification of a Senatorian estate is referred to by *Cicero* in one of his letters, written in the time of *J. Caesar's* administration, where he begs of one of his friends then in power, "not to suffer certain lands of *Curtius*, to be taken from him for the use of the soldiers, because, without that estate, he could not hold the rank of a Senator, to which *Caesar* himself had advanced him [y]."

Birth.

It appears, from what has been dropt in the course of this argument, that there was some law also subsisting from the earliest times, concerning the extraction and descent of Senators; injoining, that it should always be ingenuous; and as their morals were to be clear from all vice, so their birth likewise, from any stain of base blood: in consequence of which, when *Appius Claudius*, in his Censorship, attempted to introduce the grandsons of freed slaves into the Senate, they were all, as we have seen above, immediately turned out again. For the Romans were so particularly careful, to preserve even their common citizens from any mixture of servile blood, that they prohibited all marriages between them and freed slaves, or their children: and it was decreed, as a special privilege and reward to one *Hispala*, of libertine condition, for her discovery of the impieties of the *Bacchanalian mysteries*, that a citizen might take her to wife, without any disgrace and diminution of his rights [z]. These distinctions indeed began to be disregarded towards the end of the Republic, with respect to the ordinary citizens, but were kept up to the last,

[x] Postquam Senator censu legi creptus---pestum iere vitæ pretia---*Plin. Procem.* in lib. xiv. Hist. N.

[y] Hoc autem tempore eum *Cæsar* in Senatum legit: quem ordinem ille, iusta possessione amissa, vix tueri potest. Gravissimum autem est, cum superior

factus sit ordine, inferiorem esse fortuna. *Ep. Fam.* xiii. 5.

[z] Utique ei ingenuo nubere liceret; neu quid ei qui eam duxisset, ob id fraudi ignominizve esset. *Liv.* xxxix. 19.

with regard to the Senate. For *Cn. Lentulus*, in his Censorship abovementioned, turned *Pompilius* out of the Senate, because *his grandfather was a slave* made free: yet he allowed him his rank at the public shews, with all the outward ornaments of a Senator [a]: and the *Papian* law, made in the end of *Augustus's* reign, permits all the citizens, excepting *Senators and their children*, to take *wives of libertine condition* [b].

These were some of the laws, by which the Censors were obliged to act, in the enrollment of the new, or the omission of old Senators: and when we read of any left out, without an intimation of their crime, it might probably be, for the want of one or other of these legal or customary qualifications.

The Censors continued in their office for eighteen months, and if we suppose them to have been created onely every five years, the office must lie dormant for three years and an half. This is agreeable to what the generality of writers have delivered to us of the Censur; that it was celebrated every *fifth year*: and as it was accompanied always by a *lustration* of the people, so the word, *Lustrum*, has constantly been taken, both by the ancients and moderns, for a term of *five years*. Yet if we enquire into the real state of the case, we shall find no good ground for fixing so precise a signification to it; but on the contrary, that the *Census* and *Lustrum* were, for the most part, held irregularly and uncertainly, at very different and various intervals of time, as the particular exigencies of the state required. This is evident, not only from the testimonies of the old writers, but from authentic records and monuments of the fact, *the Old Fasti*, inscribed on marble, and still preserved in the *Capitol of Rome*; exhibiting a succession of the Roman magistrates, with a summary of their acts, from the earliest ages of the Republic.

The old Fasti inscribed on marble in the Capitol.

[a] Nam Popillium, quod erat Libertini filius, in Senatum non legit: tera ornamenta reliquit, & cum omnibus nominibus liberat. Cic. pro Cluen. 47.
locum quidem Senatorium ludis, & ce-

[b] Vid. Pighii Annal. A. U. 761.

For example, *Servius Tullius*, who first instituted the Census and Lustrum, and afterwards held four of them, began to reign A. U. 175, and reigned forty four years. *Tarquinius Superbus*, who succeeded him, held no Census at all.

The Consuls *P. Valerius* and *T. Lucretius* revived the institution of *Servius*, and held the fifth Census A. U. 245, and the Capitoline marbles, which are defective through the seven first Lustrums, mark the eighth to have happened A. U. 279, so that the three first, which were held by the Consuls, carry us through an interval of thirty four years.

The Censurs were created A. U. 311, in which year they celebrated the eleventh Lustrum; which gives also near the same interval to the three last, which had been held by the Consuls.

The twentieth Lustrum, according to the Capitoline marbles, falls A. U. 390: whence we see, that under the Censurs, who were created for the very purpose, of administering the Census and Lustrations of the people, yet the nine first of their Lustrums, one with another, take up each of them very near nine years.

The last Lustrum, during the liberty of the Republic, was held by the Censurs *Appius Claudius* and *L. Piso*, A. U. 703, and was the seventy first: so that if we compute from the eleventh, or the first held by the Censurs, to the last by *Appius Claudius*, the intervening sixty will each of them contain about six years and an half.

This is the real state of the case, as it is deduced from the most authentic records: from which we see, that though time and custom have fixed the notion of a Quinquennium or term of

five years, to the word, *Lustrum*, yet there is no sufficient ground for it in fact or the nature of the thing.

I have now drawn out every thing, which I took to have any relation to my subject, or to be of any use towards illustrating the genuin state of the Roman Senate, from it's first institution, to the oppression of it's liberty: and am persuaded, if I do not flatter myself too much, that, through every period of it's history, under the *Kings, the Consuls, and the Censors*, I have traced out from the best authorities, one uniform scheme of the people's power and absolute right over this affair, from one end to the other. But as I began my argument with the same notion, with which I now end it, so it is possible, that, like all others, who set out with an hypothesis, I might perhaps have a kind of bias upon me, without being sensible of it myself; so as to have given a greater force to some facts, than they will easily bear, in order to draw them to my particular sense. If this be the case, as I am sure that it will not escape your Lordship's observation, so I shall have a pleasure to be corrected by your less biased judgment; since in this, as well as in all my other enquiries, truth is the only fruit that I seek, or desire to reap from my labor.

A

T R E A T I S E

ON THE

ROMAN SENATE.

P A R T the S E C O N D.

WHAT I have hitherto been disputing on the subject of the Roman Senate, was designed onely, to explain the method of creating Senators, or filling up the vacancies of that body. But as that reaches no farther than to it's exterior form, so the reader may probably wish, that, before I dismiss the argument, I would introduce him likewise into the inside of it, and give him a view of their manner of proceeding within doors ; which might enable him to form a more adequate idea of an assembly of men, which was unquestionably the noblest, and most august, that the world has ever seen, or ever will see : till another empire arise, as widely extended, and as wisely constituted, as that of *Old Rome*. For this purpose, I have drawn out into this second part, and distributed under proper heads, whatever I had collected on that subject from my own observation ; which I have taken care to support and enlarge every where, as there was occasion, from the more copious collections of *P. Manutius* and *C. Sigonius*, who, of all the moderns, seem to have had the most exact, as well as the most extensive knowledge of the affairs of ancient *Rome*. I have not however been a mere compiler, or translator of the works of those learned men, but, while I make a free use of them, have taken a liberty, to which every one has a right, who draws from the same original

ginal authorities, of differing from them in several points, about the force and application of those authorities. But before I enter into a description of the forms and methods of proceeding in the Roman Senate, I think it necessary in the first place, to give a summary account of their power and jurisdiction, in order to shew what a share they really had in the administration of the government, and on what important affairs their deliberations were employed.

S E C T. I.

Of the power and jurisdiction of the Roman Senate.

I HAVE already shewn, how by the original constitution of the government, even under the Kings, the collective body of the people was the real sovereign of *Rome*, and the dernier resort in all cases. But their power, though supreme and final, was yet qualified by this check, that they could not regularly enact any thing, *which had not been previously considered, and approved by the Senate* [a]. This was the foundation of the Senatorian power, as we find it set forth, in one of their first decrees, concerning the choice of a King, where it is declared, *that an election made by the people should be valid; provided, that it was made with the authority of the Senate* [b]: and not onely in this case, but in all others, the same rule was observed for many ages; and when one of the Tribuns, in contempt of it, ventured

The People, the Sovereign and last resort. But checked by the Senate.

[a] Δύνασθε δὲ ἂν ἢ αὐτοὶ τῷ μαρτυρεῖν, ὅτι ἐξ ὧν τῆνδε τὴν πόλιν ἔκτισαν ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι τῷ τὸ γέρας ἔχουσα ἢ βασιλὴ διατέλεικεν, ἢ ἄλλου πώποτε ὁ δῆμος ὅ,τι μὴ προσελύσειεν ἢ βασιλὴ, ὅτε ἐπείκειν, ὅτε ἐπεψήφισεν, ἢ ὅτι νῦν, ἀλλ' ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλείων. Dionys. Hal. l. vii. 38. Ed. Oxon.

[b] Patres decreverunt, ut cum po-

pulus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si Patres auctores fierent, &c. Liv. i. 17. Numam Pompilium---populi jussu, Patribus auctoribus Romæ regnasse. Id. iv. 3.

Inde Tullum Hostilium---regem populus jussit, Patres auctores facti. Id. i. 22. Tum enim non gerebat is magistratum, qui ceperat, si Patres auctores non erant facti. Cic. pr. Plancio, 3.

Authoritatis.

to propound a law to the people, on which the Senate had not first been consulted, all his Collegues interposed and declared, that *they would not suffer any thing to be offered to the suffrage of the citizens, till the fathers had passed a judgement upon it* [c]. And this indeed continued to be the general way of proceeding in all quiet and regular times, from the beginning of the Republic to the end of it: and the constant stile of the old writers, in their accounts of the public transactions is, that the Senate *voted or decreed*, and the people *commanded* such and such an act [d].

Since nothing therefore, which related to the government, could be brought before the people, till it had been examined by the Senate, so on many occasions, where haste perhaps or secrecy was required, and where the determinations of the Senate were so just and equitable, that the consent of the people might be presumed and taken for granted, the Senate would naturally omit the trouble of calling them from their private affairs, to an unnecessary attendance on the public; till by repeated omissions of this kind, begun at first in trivial matters, and proceeding insensibly to more serious, they acquired a special jurisdiction and cognizance in many points of great importance, to the exclusion even of the people; who yet, by the laws and constitution of the government, had the absolute dominion over all. For example;

Senate assumed the Superintendence of the public religion.
 1. They assumed to themselves the guardianship and superintendence of the public religion; so that no new God could be introduced, nor Altar erected, nor the Sibylline books consulted, without their express order [e].

[c] Per intercessionem Collegarum, qui nullum Plebiscitum, nisi ex auctoritate Senatus, se perferri passuros, ostenderunt, discussum est. Id. iv. 49.

[d] Senatus eam pacem servandam censuit, & paucos post dies populus

justit. Id. xxxvii. 55.

Ex auctoritate Patrum, jussu populi, bellum Faliscis indictum est. Id. x. 45.

[e] Ex auctoritate Senatus latum ad populum est, nequis templum aramve injussu Senatus aut Tribunorum pl. ma-

2. They

2. They held it as their prerogative, to settle the number and condition of the foreign provinces, that were annually assigned to the magistrates, and to declare, which of them should be Consular and which Prætorian Provinces [*f*]. *of the Provinces.*

3. They had the distribution of the public treasure, and all the expences of the government; the appointment of stipends to their generals, with the number of their lieutenants and their troops, and of the provisions and cloathing of their armies [*g*]. *of the Treasury.*

4. They nominated all embassadors sent from Rome, out of their own body, and received and dismissed all, who came from foreign states, with such answers as they thought proper [*h*]. *Sent and received Embassadors.*

5. They had the right of decreeing all supplications or public thanksgivings, for victories obtained, and of conferring the honor of an ovation or triumph, with the title of Emperor on their victorious generals [*i*]. *of Fasts and Thanks givings, Ovals and Triumphs and Title of Emperor.*

joris partis dedicaret. Liv. ix. 46.

Vetus erat decretum, ne qui Deus ab Imperatore consecraretur, nisi a Senatu probatus: ut M. Æmilius de suo Alburno. Tertull. Apol. v.

Quamobrem Sibyllam quidem sepositam habeamus, ut injussu Senatus ne legantur quidem libri. Cic. de Div. liv.

Quoties Senatus Decemviros ad liberos ire jussit? ib. i. 48.

[*f*] Tu provincias Consulares---quas C. Gracchus non modo non abstulit ab Senatu, sed etiam ut necesse esset, quotannis constitui per Senatum, lege sanxit. Cic. pr. Dom. 9. Vid. in Vatin. 15.

[*g*] Καὶ μὴν ἡ σύγκλητος πρῶτον μὲν ἔχει τὴν τῶ ταμίαις κυρίαν. ἡ γὰρ τῆς

εἰσόδου πάσης ἀπὸ τῆς κράτης, ἡ τῆς ἐξόδου παραπληρώσεως. Polyb. l. vi. 461.

"Ανευ δὲ τῆς συγκλήτης βουλῆς, ἔτε σίτησις, ἔτε ἱμάτισμος, ἔτε ὀψώνια δύναται χορηγεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, &c. id. 463. Senatus, in augustiis ærarii, Cæsaris exercitum stipendio affecit. Cic. pr. Balb. xxvii.

[*h*] Ne hoc quidem Senatus relinquebas, quod nemo unquam ademit, ut Legati ex ejus ordinis auctoritate legarentur---quis Legatos unquam audiuit sine Senatus consulto? in Vatin. 15. Vid. Polyb. 461.

[*i*] Senatus in quadriduum, quod nullo ante bello supplicationes decernit. Liv. v. 23. Etenim cui viginti his

Treasons

6. It was their province, to inquire into public crimes or treasons either in *Rome*, or the other parts of *Italy*: and to hear and determine all disputes among the allied and dependent cities [*k*].

Dispensation

7. They exercised a power, not onely of interpreting the laws, but of absolving men from the obligation of them, and even of abrogating them [*l*].

Vote the Consuls absolute

8. In the case of civil dissensions or dangerous tumults within the city, they could arm the Consuls by a vote with absolute power, to destroy and put to death, without the formality of a trial, all such citizens as were concerned in exciting them [*m*].

Prorogation and Adjournment of the Assemblies of the People.

9. They had a power to prorogue or postpone the assemblies

annis supplicatio decreta est, ut non Imperator appellaretur? Cic. Phil. xiv. 4, 5.

Τὸς δὲ προσαγορευόμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς
Δεῖνός τις---τῆτος ἐδωάσαι χεῖρην ὡς
πρέπει, ποτὲ δὲ τὸ παρῆσαν ἐδὲ συνέ-
λιν, εἰ μὴ πὸ συνέδριον συγκαλέσθαι.
Polyb. ibid.

[*k*] 'Ομοίως ἢ ἕα τῶν εἰδικυμάτων
τῶν κατ' Ἱταλίαν προσδεῖται δημοσίας
ἐπικρίψεως---τῇ συγκαλήτῳ μέλει πλεῖ-
στῶν. Polyb. 461.

Consulem—res in Etruria tenuerunt, quæstiones ex S. C^o, de conjurationibus principum habentem. Liv. xxx. 26. Q. Fabium Labeonem arbitrum Nolanis & Neapolitanis de finibus agri a Senatu datum. Cic. Off. i. 10.

[*l*] Senatus quidem, cujus est gravissimum judicium de jure legum. [Cic. j. r. Dom. 27.] Quatuor omnino genera

sunt, in quibus per Senatum, more majorum, statuatur aliquid de legibus, unum est ejusmodi, placere legem abrogari---Alterum, quæ lex lata esse dicatur, ea non videri populum teneri. pr. Cornel. i. vid. Cic. pr. leg. Manil. 21. de Pompeio legibus ex Senatu consulto soluto. De Scipionibus legibus solutis. Val. Max. viii. 15. it. Cic. Phil. v.

[*m*] Senatus decrevit, darent operam Consules nequid detrimenti Respub. caperet, ea potestas per Senatum, more majorum, Magistratui maxima permititur: exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis sceleris atque civis: domi militiæque imperiorum judiciumque summum habere: aliter sine populi jussu nulli eorum remota Consilijus est. Sallust. de Bell. Catilin. 29. Cic. in Cat. i. 11.

of the people; to decree the title of King, to any Prince whom they pleased; thanks and praise to those who had deserved them; pardon and reward, to enemies or the discoverers of any treason; to declare any one an enemy by a vote; and to prescribe a general change of habit to the city, in cases of any imminent danger or calamity [n].

*Title of King
Thanks
Pardon, reward
Enemies
Mourning*

These were the principal articles, in which the Senate had constantly exercised a peculiar jurisdiction, exclusive of the people; not grounded on any express law, but the custom only and practice of their ancestors, derived to them from the earliest ages. And as this was found by long experience, to be the most useful way of administering the public affairs, and the most conducive to the general peace and prosperity of the city, so it was suffered by the tacit consent of the people, to continue in the hands of the Senate, as a matter of convenience, rather than of right, and connived at, rather than granted, for the sake of the common good [o].

But whenever any bold Tribune, or factious magistrate, not content with the honors of the city in the usual forms, nor with such, as the Senate was disposed to confer upon him, chose to apply to the people for some extraordinary grant of them, the citizens were frequently induced, by the artifices of such leaders, to seize into their own hands several branches of that jurisdiction,

[n] Comitia dilata ex Senatus consulto. [Cic. Ep. ad Att. iv. 16.] Meminit fieri S. C. me referente, ne postero die Comitia haberentur. [Cic. pr. Mur. 25.]

Is Rex [Deiotarus] quem Senatus hoc nomine sæpe appellavisset. [pr. Deiot. 3.]

De Masinissa Rege appellato. Vid. Liv. xxx. 17. De præmiis indicibus decretis.

Vid. Sallust. Bell. Cat. 3. Cic. in Car. iv. 3, 3, 4. De Dolabella hoste judicato. Phil. xi. 12.

De Lepido, Ep. Fam. xii. 10. Senatus frequens vestem pro mea salute mutandam censuit. Pr. Sext. 12.

[o] Cui populus ipse moderandi & regendi sui potestatem, quasi quasdam habenas, tradidisset. Cic. de Orat. i. 52.

which

*Assumption of those
Prerogatives, deprived
the Senate of all its
Power.*

which I have been describing, and which had always been admitted before by the Senate. And after this method was once introduced and found to be effectual, it became by degrees the common recourse of all, who, for the advancement of their private ambition, affected the character of popularity; and was pushed so far at last, as to deprive the Senate in effect of all its power and influence in the state.

*Gracchus demolished
the Senate.*

For in the first place, the Tribuns soon snatched from them that original right, which they had enjoyed from the very foundation of the city, of being the authors or first movers of every thing, which was to be enacted by the people; and excluded them from any share or influence in the assemblies of their tribes [p]: and though in the other assemblies of the *Curiae* and the *Centuries*, they seemed to have reserved to them their ancient right, yet it was reduced to a mere form, without any real force: for instead of being, what they had always been, the authors of each particular act, that was to be proposed to the people's deliberation, they were obliged by a special law, to authorise every assembly of the people, and whatever should be determined in it, even before the people had proceeded to any vote [q]: and C. Gracchus afterwards, in his famous Tribunate, used to boast, that he had demolished the Senate at once, by transferring to the Equestrian order, the right of judicature in all criminal causes, which the Senate had possessed from the time of the Kings [r].

Caesar

But no man ever insulted their authority more openly, or reduced it so low, as J. Caesar: who instead of expecting from the

[p] Vid. Dionys. Hal. l. xli. 49.

Quod Patres apud majores nostros non tenere potuerunt, ut reprehensores essent comitiorum. Cic. pr. Planc. 3.

[q] Q. Publilii Philonis Dictatura popularis, quod tres leges secundissimas plebi, adventas nobilitati tulit: unam,

ut plebiscita omnes Quirites tenerent: alteram, ut legum, quæ Comitibus Centuriatis ferrentur, ante initum suffragium Patres auctores fierent. Liv. viii. 12.

[r] "Οἱ ἀρχαῖος τὴν βουλὴν καθήρκεν. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. i.

Senate, as the practice had always been, the assignment of a provincial government, at the expiration of his Consulship, applied himself directly to the people; and by the help of the Tribune, *Vatinius* procured from them a law, by which the provinces of *Illyricum* and the *Cisalpine Gaul* were conferred upon him *for the term of five years*, with a large appointment of money and troops; which so shocked the Senate, and was thought so fatal to their authority, that, lest it should become a precedent by being repeated, they thought fit, of their own accord, to add to the two provinces already granted to him, the government also of the *Transalpine Gaul*, which he was understood still to desire, that they might prevent him from making a second application to the people [s]. It was in these days of faction and violence, promoted chiefly by *Cæsar*, in the first Triumvirate, that a profligate Consul, *Gabinus*, in a public speech to the people, had the insolence to declare, *that men were mistaken, if they imagined, that the Senate had then any share of power or influence in the Republic* [t]. But in all these insults on the authority of the Senate, though the honesty of all ranks loudly inveighed against them, and detested the authors of them, as men of dangerous views, who aspired to powers, that threatened the liberty of the city; yet none ever pretended to say, that the acts themselves were illegal; or that the people had not a clear right, by the very constitution of the Republic, to command and enact whatever they judged expedient.

Vatinius

Gabinus

[s] Et initio quidem Galliam Cisalpinam, Illyrico adjecto, lege Vatinia accepit: mox per Senatum, Comatam quoque; veritis Patribus, ne si ipsi negassent, populus & hanc daret. Suet. J. Cæf. c. 22. Plutar. p. 714.

[t] Habet talem orationem Consul, qualem nunquam Catilina victor habuisset; errare homines, si etiam tum Senatum aliquid in Repub. posse arbitrantur. Cic. pr. Sext. 12.

S E C T. II.

Of the right and manner of summoning or calling the Senate together.

Consuls

Prætors Tribuns.

THE right of convoking the Senate on all occasions, belonged of course to the Consuls, as the supreme magistrates of the city [u] : which in their absence devolved regularly to the next magistrates in dignity, the Prætors, and the Tribuns [x]. But these last, as I have elsewhere observed, by virtue of their office, claimed and exercised a power of summoning the Senate at any time, whenever the affairs of the people required it, though the Consuls themselves were in the city [y]. Yet, out of deference to the Consular authority, the Senate was but rarely called, when they were abroad, unless in cases of sudden emergency, which required some present resolution [z].

In the early ages of the Republic, when the precincts of the city were small, the Senators were personally summoned by an Apparitor [a] : and sometimes by a public Crier, when their as-

Apparitor Crier

[u] What is here said, of the proper right of the Consuls to summon the Senate, must be understood likewise of all those other magistrates, who were created on extraordinary occasions with supreme power, in the place or absence of the Consuls : as, the *Dictator*, *Military Tribuns*, *Decemviri*, *Interrex*, *Præfect* of the city. Vid. A. Gell. xiv. 7.

[x] Placuit nobis, ut statim ad Cornutum, Prætorem urb. litteras deferremus : qui, quod Consules aberant, Consulare munus sustinebat, more majorum. Senatus est continuo convocatus.—Cic. Ep. Fam. x. 12.

[y] Οἱ δὲ πρὶς ἀρχαῖοι πρῶτοι ἐν-καλεῖν ἐπελάλουν τὴν βουλὴν. Dionys. x. 31.

Cum Tribuni pl. edixissent, Senatus adesset a. d. xiii. Kal. Jan. Cic. Ep. Fam. xi. 6. it. x. 28.

[z] Senatus sapius pro tua dignitate appellaretur, si absentibus Consulibus unquam, nisi ad rem novam cogeretur. Cic. ibid. xii. 28. Liv. xxx. 23.

[a] A Villa in Senatum arcessébantur & Curius & ceteri Senes : ex quo, qui eos arcessébant, Viatores nominati sunt. Cic. de Sen. xvi.

fairs

fairs required an immediate dispatch [b]. But the usual way of calling them in later days, was by an edict, appointing the time and place, and published several days before, that the notice might be more public [c]. These edicts were commonly understood to reach no farther than to those, who were resident in *Rome*, or near it; yet when any extraordinary affair was in agitation, they seem to have been published also in the other cities of *Italy* [d]. If any senator refused or neglected to obey this summons, the Consul could oblige him to give surety, for the payment of a certain fine, if the reasons of his absence should not be allowed [e]. But from sixty years of age, they were not liable to that penalty, nor obliged to any attendance, but what was voluntary [f]. In ancient times, as *Valerius* writes, "the Senators were so vigilant and attentive to the care of the public, that, without waiting for an edict, they used to meet constantly of themselves, in a certain portico, adjoining to the Senate house, whence they could presently be called into it, as soon as the Consul came; esteeming it scarce worthy of praise, to perform their duty to their country, by command only, and not of their own accord [g]."

Edict

Thm.

Excused at 60. or 65.

Valerius

Portico

[b] Postquam audita vox in Foro præconis, Patres in Curiam ad Decemviro vocantis, &c. Liv. iii. 38. Ὁπίμιθ' τῶ βελῶ Διφ' κηρύκων συνεκάλει. App. Bell. Civ. i.

[c] Cum tot edicta proposuisset Antonius, (Consul) edixit, ut adesset Senatus frequens a. d. viii. Kal. Dec.—in ante diem. iv. Kal. distulit. Cic. Phil. iii. 8.

[d] Senaturn etiam Kalendis velle se frequentem adesse, etiam Formiis proficisci jussit. Cic. de J. Cæsare, ad Att. ix. 17.

[e] Postquam citati non conveniebant, dimissi circa domos Apparitores ad pig-

nora capienda. Liv. iii. 38. Quis unquam tanto damno Senatorem cogit? aut quid est ultra, præter pignus & mulctam? Cic. Phil. i. 5.

[f] Lex a sexagesimo anno Senatorem non citat. Senec. de Brev. vit. xx. But *Seneca* the father tells us, that their absence was excused only from the *sixty fifth* year of their age, which seems most probable. Controv. Ult. l. i. Senator post annum sexagesimum quintum in Curiam venire nec cogitur nec vetatur.

[g] Val. Max. l. ii. 2, 6.

S E C T. III.

Of the place in which the Senate used to meet.

Curia

THE Senate could not regularly be assembled in any private or profane place; but always in one set apart, and *solemnly consecrated to that use, by the rites of augury* [b]. There were several of these in different parts of the city, which are mentioned occasionally by the old writers, as places, in which the Senate usually met; as they happened to be appointed by different Consuls, agreeably either to their own particular convenience, or to that of the Senate in general, or to the nature of the business which was to be transacted. These Senate houses were called *Curia*, as the *Curia Calabra*, said to be built by *Romulus*; the *Curia Hostilia*, by *Tullus Hostilius*; and the *Curia Pompeia*, by *Pompey the Great* [i].

Templum

But the meetings of the Senate were more commonly held in certain temples dedicated to particular Deities; as in that of *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Vulcan*, *Castor*, *Bellona*; of *Concord*, *Faith*, *Virtue*, the *Earth*, &c. For we find all these particularly celebrated by the ancients, as places, where the Senate was frequently assembled: all which had Altars and Images erected in them, for the peculiar worship of those Deities, whose names they bore: yet these Temples, on account of the use which the Senate made of them, were called likewise *Curia*; as well as the proper *Curia*, or Senate houses, on account of their solemn dedication, are fre-

[b] Docuit confirmavitque (Varro) nisi in loco per Augures constituto, quod Templum appellaretur, Senatus consultum factum esset, justum id non fuisse. A. Gell. xiv. 7.

[i] Juxta Curiam Calabram, quæ Casa Romuli proxima est. Macr. Sat. i.

15.

Quod cum Senatus de his rebus in Curia Hostilia haberetur. Liv. v. 55.

Postquam Senatus Idib. Mart. in Curiam Pompeii edictus est. Suet. J. Cæs. 80.

quently

quently called *Temples* [k]: For the word Temple, in it's primary sense, signified nothing more, than a place set apart, and consecrated by the Augurs; whether inclosed or open, in the city or in the fields. Agreeably to which notion, the Senate used to meet on some occasions in the open air; and especially whenever a report was made to them in form, that *an ox had spoken*; which prodigy, as *Pliny* tells us, was common in the earlier ages [l].

Res loquitur.

The view of the government, in appropriating these Temples to the use of the Senate, was, to imprint the more strongly on the minds of it's members, the obligation of acting justly and religiously, from the sanctity of the place, and the presence, as it were, of their Gods. Thus one of the Censors removed the statue of *Concord*, from a part of the city, in which it was first erected, into the Senate house, which he dedicated to that Goddess; imagining, as *Cicero* tells us, *that he should banish all love of dissension, from that seat and temple of the public counsel, which he had devoted by that means to the religion of Concord* [m]. The case was the same with the Temples of the other Goddesses, in which the Senate often met; of *Bellona*, *Faith*, *Virtue*, *Honor*; that the very place might admonish them, of the reverence due to those particular virtues, which their ancestors had deified for the sake of their excellence: and it was to strengthen this principle and sense of religion in them, that *Augustus* afterwards enjoined, *that Augustus.*

[k] Propterea & in Curia Hostilia & Pompeia---quum profana ea loca fuissent, templa esse per Augures constituta, ut in iis Senatus consulta, more majorum, iusta fieri possent. A. Gell. xiv. 7.

Qui---Curiam incenderit?---Templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis, mentis, consilii publici --- [Cic. pr. Mil. 33.] Cum Senatus in Curiam, hoc est, Ædem Concordiæ, Templumque inauguratum convenisset. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. c. 6.

[l] In hoc tumultu Flaccus inter Æf-

quilinam Collinamque portam posuit castra. Consules Senatusque in castra venerunt. Liv. xxvi. 10.

Est frequens in prodigiis priscorum, bovem locutum: quo nuntiato, Senatum sub divo haberi solitum. Plin. Hist. N. viii. 45.

[m] Præscribere enim se arbitrabatur, ut sine studiis dissensionis sententiæ dicerentur, si sedem ipsam ac templum publici consilii religione Concordiæ devinxisset. Cic. pr. Dom. 51.

Bovem locutum.

every Senator, before he sat down in his place, should supplicate that God, in whose Temple they were assembled, with incense and wine [n].

The Senate, on two special occasions, was always held without the gates of Rome, either in the Temple of Bellona, or of Apollo, 1st, For the reception of foreign ambassadors; and especially of those, who came from enemies, who were not permitted to enter the city. 2dly, To give audience and transact business with their own generals, who were never allowed to come within the walls, as long as their commission subsisted, and they had the actual command of an army [o].

S E C T. IV.

Of the time when the Senate might legally be assembled.

PAULLUS MANUTIUS is of opinion, that there were certain days, on which the Senate might regularly be assembled, and others, on which it could not: and that these last were called *Comitial* days, and marked under that name in the Kalendars, as days wholly destined and set apart by law, for the assemblies of the people [p]. But *Sigonius* contends, that the Senate might meet on any of those days, unless when the people

[n] Quo autem lecti probatique & religiosius & minore molestia, Senatoria munera fungerentur, sanxit, ut prius, quam confideret quisque, thure ac mero supplicaret apud aram ejus Dei, in cujus Templo coiretur. Set. Aug. c. 35.

[o] Legati Nabidis Tyranni Romam venerunt duo; his extra Urbem, in Æde Apollinis Senatus datus est. Liv. xxxiv. 43.

Legati ab Rege Perseo venerunt, eos in oppidum intramitti non placuit, quum jam bellum Regi eorum—Senatus de-

cesset, & populus jussisset—in Ædem Bellonæ in Senatum introducti. Id. xlii. 36.

P. Corn. Scipio Consul—postero die quam venit Romam, Senatu in Ædem Bellonæ vocato, quum de rebus a se gestis differuisset, postulavit, ut sibi triumphanti liceret in urbem invehì. Id. xxxvii. 39.

Qui ne triumphaturi quidem intrare Urbem injussu Senatus deberetis: quibusque exercitum victorem reducentibus curia extra muros præberetur. Senec. de Benef. v. 15.

were

were actually assembled, and transacting business on them: in proof of which, he brings several testimonies from the old writers, wherein the Senate is said to have been held, not only on those days, which are marked in the *Fasti*, as *Comitial*; but on those also, on which the people had been actually assembled, but after their assemblies were dismissed. He observes likewise, that the number of *Comitial* days, as they are marked in the *Kalendars*, amount in all to *two hundred*: which makes it scarce credible, that either the affairs of the people should necessarily employ so many days, or that the Senate should be precluded from the use of so many in each year: from all which he infers, that the title of *Comitial* denoted such days only, on which the people might be legally assembled; not such, on which they were of course to be assembled [q].

200 Comitial days

The truth of the matter seems to be this, that though the days called *Comitial* were regularly destined to the assemblies of the people; yet the Senate also might not only be convened on the same, after the popular assemblies were dissolved, but had the power likewise, whenever they found it expedient, to supersede and postpone the assemblies of the people to another day; and by a particular decree, to authorise their own meetings upon them, for the dispatch of some important affair therein specified [r].

The Senate met always of course on the first of *January*, for the inauguration of the new Consuls, who entered into their office on that day: and there are instances in the ancient writers,

1. Jan.

[p] De Senatu Romano, c. v.

[q] Vid. Joh. Sarium Zamosc. de Senatu Rom. l. ii. 7. quem librum Car. Sigonius sub nomine discipuli sui scripsit.

[r] Senatus deinde, concilio plebis dimisso, haberi ceptus. Liv. xxxviii. 53. xxxix. 39.

M. Marcellus Consul—de ea re ita censuit, uti Consules de iis ad Senatum

referrent—utique ejus rei causa per dies Comitiales Senatum haberent, Senatufque consultum facerent. Cic. Ep. Fam. viii. 8.

Meministis fieri Senatus consultum, referente me, ne postero die Comitia haberentur, ut de his rebus in Senatu agere possemus. Cic. p. Mur. 25.

of it's being assembled on every other day, except one or two, till after the 15th of the same month; the latter part of which was probably assigned to the assemblies of the people [s]. The month of *February*, generally speaking, was reserved intire by old custom to the Senate, for the particular purpose of giving audience to foreign embassiadors [t]. But in all months universally, there were three days, which seem to have been more especially destined to the Senate, *the Kalends, Nones, and Ides*, from the frequent examples found in history, of it's being convened on those days. But *Augustus* afterwards enacted, that the Senate should not meet regularly or of course, except on *two days* onely in each month, *the Kalends and Ides* [u]. The Senate was seldom or never held on public festivals, which were dedicated to shews and sports. In the month of *December*, in which the *Saturnalia* were celebrated for several days successively, *Cicero* giving an account of the debates of the Senate, when two hundred members were present, calls it *a fuller meeting than he thought it possible to have been, when the holy days were commencing* [x].

Kalends, Nones Ides,

Dies festos, Holy days

*Our Congress after Christmas
are as indolent*

Sun rise

*Sun set,
good rules there.*

On their days of meeting, they could not enter upon any business before the Sun was risen; nor finish any, after it was set. Every thing transacted by them, either before or after that time, was null and void, and the author of it liable to censure [y]: whence it became a standing rule, that nothing new should be

[s] Vid. Paull. Manut. ibid.

[t] A Kalendis Feb. Legationes in Idus Feb. rejiciebantur. Cic. ad Fratr. 2, 3.

Hic est mensis, quo Senatus frequens postulatis provinciarum, & legationibus audiendis datur. Ascon. in Verr. i. 35. Ep. ad Fratr. ii. 12.

[u] Ne plus quam bis in mense legitimus Senatus ageretur, Kalendis & Idibus. Suet. Aug. 35.

[x] Senatus fuit frequentior, quam putabamus esse posse, mense Decembri sub dies festos—sane frequentes fuimus; omnino ad ducentos. Cic. Ep. ad Fr. ii. 1.

[y] Post hæc deinceps dicit, (Varro) Senatus consultum, ante exortum aut post occasum solem factum, ratum non fuisse. Opus etiam Censorium fecisse existimatos, per quos eo tempore S. C. factum esset. A. Gell. xiv. 7.

moved

moved, *after four a clock in the afternoon* [z]. Cicero therefore reflects on certain decrees, procured by *Antony*, in his Consulship, as being made *too late in the evening*, to have any authority [a].

S E C T. V.

Of the different ranks and orders of men in the Senate, and of the method observed in their deliberations.

THE Senate, as I have shewn above, was composed of all the principal magistrates of the city, and of all, who had born the same offices before them: and consisted therefore of several degrees and orders of men, who had each a different rank in it, according to the dignity of the character, which he sustained in the Republic.

At the head of it, sat the two Consuls in chairs of state [b]; raised, as we may imagine, by a few steps, above the level of the other benches: out of respect to whose supreme dignity, the whole assembly used to pay the compliment of *rising up* from their seats, as soon as they entered into the Senate house [c]. *Manutius* thinks, that the other magistrates sat next to the Consular chair, each according to his rank; the *Prætors*, *Censors*, *Ædiles*, *Tribuns*, *Quæstors* [d]. But that opinion is grounded

Rising

[z] Majores nostri novam relationem post horam decimam in Senatu fieri vetabant. Senec. de Tranquillitat. 168. A.

[a] Præclara tamen Senatus consulta illo ipso die Vespertina. Cic. Phil. iii. 10.

There is one instance however of the Senate's being assembled at midnight. A. U. 290. upon the arrival of an express from one of the Consuls, to inform the Senate, that he was besieged by the superior forces of the *Æqui* and

Volsi, and in danger of being destroyed, with his whole army, without an immediate succour; which was accordingly decreed and sent to him without loss of time. Dionys. ix. 63.

[b] Non hæc sedes honoris, sella curulis, unquam vacua mortis periculo fuit. Cic. in Cat. iv. 1.

[c] Num quisquam tibi, [Consuli] in Curiam venienti assurrexit. in Pis. 12.

[d] Vid. Paul. Manut. de Senatu Rom. c. ix

only

only on conjecture; since none of the ancients have left us any account of their manner of sitting. This however is certain, that all the private Senators sat on different benches, and in a different order of precedency, according to the dignity of the magistracies, which they had severally born. First the *Consulars*; then the *Prætorians*, *Ædilitians*, *Tribunitians*, and *Quæstorians*: in which order, and by which titles, they are all enumerated by *Cicero* [e]: and as this was their order in sitting, so it was the same also, in delivering their opinions, when it came to their turn.

Order in Speaking.

Prince of the Senate.

But besides these several orders, of which the Senate was composed, there was one member of it distinguished always from the rest, by the title of *Prince of the Senate*: which distinction had been kept up from the very beginning of the Republic; to preserve the shadow of that original form, established by their founder, *Romulus*; by which he reserved to himself the nomina-

tion. But since the manner of their sitting can be gathered only from conjecture, I have been apt rather to think, that the Consular Senators, who, in all ages of the Republic, were the leaders and first speakers in the Senate, used to sit next in order to the Consuls: and after them the *Prætors*, and all who were of *Prætorian* dignity, or had been *Prætors*: then the *Ædiles*, the *Tribuns*, and the *Quæstors*, on distinct benches; and on the same bench with each, all who had born the same offices: but the *Curule* magistrates, as the *Prætors* and *Ædiles*, were perhaps distinguished at the head of their several benches, by seats somewhat raised or separated at least from the rest in the form of our Settees, or of that *Longa Cathedra*, which *Juvenal* mentions, to denote

their *Curule* dignity. Sat. ix. 52.

These Senatorian benches were long, so as to hold a great number on each: whence *Pompey* used to call the determinations of the Senate, *the judgement of the long bench*, [Cic. Ep. Fam. iii. 9.] by way of distinction from the shorter benches of the courts of judicature. Some of these benches however appear to have been very short, or not unlike to our stools; on which each of the ten *Tribuns* perhaps used to sit single: for the Emperor *Claudius*, as *Suetonius* writes, when he had any great affair to propose to the Senate, used to sit upon a *Tribunitian* bench, placed between the *Curule* chairs of the two Consuls. Suet. Claud. 23.

[e] Cic. Phil. xiii. 13, 14.

tion

tion of the first or principal Senator, who, in the absence of the King, was to preside in that assembly. This title was given of course to that person, whose name was *called over the first* in the roll of the Senate, whenever it was renewed by the Censors. He was always one of Consular and Censorian dignity; and generally one of the most eminent for probity and wisdom: and the title itself was so highly respected, that he who bore it, was constantly called by it, preferably to that of any other dignity, with which he might happen to be invested [*f*]: yet there were no peculiar rights annexed to this title, nor any other advantage, except an accession of authority, from the notion, which it would naturally imprint, of a superior merit in those, who bore it.

The Senate being assembled, the Consuls, or the magistrate, by whose authority they were summoned, having first taken the auspices, and performed the usual office of religion, by sacrifice and prayer, used to open to them the reasons of their being called together, and propose the subject of that day's deliberation: in which all things divine, or relating to the worship of the Gods, were dispatched preferably to any other business [*g*]. When the Consul had moved any point, with intent to have it debated and carried into a decree, and had spoken upon it himself, as long

Prayers.

[*f*] P. Lentulum, Principem Senatus. [Cic. Phil. viii. 4.] Cum armatus M. Æmilius, Princeps Senatus in Comitio stetit. pr. Rabir. 7.

After the institution of the Censors, it became a custom to confer this title of *Prince of the Senate*, on the oldest Senator then living, of Censorian dignity: but in the second Punic war, when one of the Censors insisted, that this rule, delivered to them by their ancestors, ought to be observed, by which *T. Manlius Torquatus* was to be called over the first of the Senate; the

other Censor declared, that, since the Gods had given to him the particular lot of calling over the Senate, he would follow his own will in it, and call *Q. Fabius Maximus* the first; who by the judgement of *Hannibal* himself, was allowed to be the *Prince of the Roman people*. Liv. xxvii. 11.

[*g*] Docet deinde, (Varro) immolare hostiam prius, auspiciarique debere, qui Senatum habiturus esset: de rebus divinis prius quam humanis ad Senatum referendum esse. A. Gell. xiv. 7.

as he thought proper, he proceeded to ask the opinions of the other Senators severally by name, and in their proper order; beginning always with the Consulars, and going on to the Prætorians, &c. It was the practice originally, to *ask the Prince of the Senate the first*: but that was soon laid aside, and the compliment transferred to any other ancient Consular, distinguished by his integrity and superior abilities: till in the later ages of the Republic, it became an established custom, to pay that respect to relations, or particular friends, or to those, who were likely to give an opinion the most favorable to their own views and sentiments on the question proposed [b]. But whatever order the Consuls observed, in asking opinions, on the first of *January*, when they entered into their office, they generally pursued the same through the rest of the Year. *J. Cæsar* indeed broke through this rule: for though he had asked *Crassus* the first, from the beginning of his Consulship, yet upon the marriage of his daughter with *Pompey*, he gave that priority to his Son-in-law; for which however he made an apology to the Senate [i].

(Cæsar)

This honor, of being asked in an extraordinary manner, and preferably to all others of the same rank, though of superior age or nobility, seems to have been seldom carried farther, than to four or five distinguished persons of Consular dignity [k]; and

[b] Singulos autem debere consuli gradatim, incipique a Consulari gradu. ex quo gradu semper quidem antea primum rogari solitum, qui Princeps in Senatum lectus esset: tum novum morem institutum refert, per ambitionem gratiamque, ut is primus rogaretur, quem rogare vellet, qui haberet Senatum, dum is tamen ex gradu consulari esset. *ibid.*

[i] Ac post novam affinitatem, *Pompeium* primum rogare sententiam coepit (*J. Cæsar*) quum *Crassum* soletet: esset-

que consuetudo, ut quem ordinem interrogandi sententias Consul Kal. Jan. instituisset, eum toto anno conservaret. *Suet. J. Cæs. 21.*

Ejus rei rationem reddidisse eum Senatui, Tiro Tullius, M. Ciceronis libertus, refert A. Gell. iv. 10.

[k] Scito igitur, primum me non esse rogatum sententiam: præpositumque esse nobis Pacificatorem Allobrogum: idque admurmurante Senatu, neque, me invito, esse factum—& ille secundus in dicendo locus habet auctoritatem pone
the

the rest were afterwards asked according to their seniority: and this method, as I have said, was observed generally through the year, till the election of the future Consuls, which was commonly held about the month of *August*: from which time, it was the constant custom, to ask the opinions of *the Consuls elect* preferably to all others, till they entered into their office, on the first of *January* following [1].

As the Senators then were personally called upon to deliver their opinions, according to their rank, so none were allowed to speak, till it came to their turn, excepting the magistrates; who seem to have had a right of speaking on all occasions, whenever they thought fit; and for that reason perhaps were not particularly asked or called upon by the Consuls. *Cicero* indeed on a certain occasion, says, *that he was asked the first of all the private Senators* [m]; which implies, that some of the magistrates had been asked before him: but they were then asked by a *Tribun of the people*, by whom that meeting of the Senate had been summoned, and who would naturally give that preference to the superior magistrates, who then happened to be present: but I have

principis: tertius est Catulus: quartus (si etiam hoc quaeris) Hortensius. Cic. ad Att. i. 13.

C. Caesar in Consulatu—quatuor solos extra ordinem sententiam rogasse dicitur. A. Gell. iv. 10.

[1] Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore Consul designatus erat. [Sallust. Bell. Cat. 50.] Ego tamen sic nihil expecto, quomodo Paullum, Consulem designatum, primum sententiam dicentem. Cic. Ep. Fam. viii. 4. Vid. it. Phil. v. 13.

As the Consuls elect had this preference given in speaking before all the Consulars, so the Prætors and Tribuns elect seem to have had the same, before

the rest of their particular orders: for in that famous debate upon the manner of punishing *Catiline's* accomplices, we find that *J. Caesar*, then *Prætor elect*, was asked his opinion by the Consul, at the head of the Prætorians; and *M. Cato*, then *Tribun elect*, was asked likewise in his turn, at the head of the Tribunitians. Vid. Sallust. Bell. Cat. 51, 52. Cic. Ep. ad Att. l. xii. 21. it. Pigh. Annal.

[m] Racilius surrexit, & de judiciis referre cœpit. Marcellinum quidem primum rogavit—postea de privatis me primum sententiam rogavit—Cic. ad Fratr. ii. 1.

never observed, that a Consul asked any one the first, but a Consular Senator, or the Consul's elect.

Though every Senator was obliged to declare his opinion, when he was asked by the Consul, yet he was not confined to the single point then under debate, but might launch out into any other subject whatsoever, and harangue upon it as long as he pleased [n]. And though he might deliver his opinion with all freedom, when it came to his turn, yet the Senate could not take any notice of it, nor enter into any debate upon it, unless it were espoused and proposed to them in form by some of the magistrates, who had the sole privilege of referring any question to a vote, or of dividing the house upon it [o]. Whenever any one spoke, he rose up from his seat, and stood while he was speaking; but when he assented onely to another's opinion, he continued sitting [p].

rose to speak.

Several different motions might be made, and different questions be referred to the Senate by different magistrates, in the same meeting [q]: and if any business of importance was ex-

[n] Licere Patribus, quoties jus sententiæ dicendæ accepissent, quæ vellent expromere, relationemque in ea postulare. Tacit. Ann. xiii. 49.

Erat jus Senatori, ut sententiam rogatus, diceret ante quicquid vellet aliorum rei, & quoad vellet. A. Gell. iv. 10.

[o] Huic assentiuntur reliqui Confulares, præter Servilium—& Volcatium, qui, Lupo referente, Pompeio decernit. Cic. Ep. Fam. i. 1, 2.

From these two epistles it appears, that Volcatius's opinion in favor of Pompey, was not referred to the Senate by Volcatius himself, who was then a private Senator, but by Lupo, then Tri-

bun of the people, in order to divide the house upon it. For a private Senator, as Tacitus intimates above, could onely, *relationem postulare*, that is, demand to have it referred to a vote by some of the magistrates.

[p] Racilius surrexit, &c. [Cic. ad Fra. ii. 1.] Postquam Cato assedit. [Salust. Bell. Cat. 53. Cic. ad Att. i. 14.] Quotiescunque aliquid est actum, sedens iis assensu, qui mihi lenissime sentire vixi sunt. Cic. Ep. Fam. v. 2.

[q] De Appia Via & de Moneta Consul; de Lupercis Tribunus pleb. refert. Cic. Phil. vii. 1.

pected

pected or desired, which the Consuls had omitted to propose, or were unwilling to bring into debate, it was usual for the Senate, by a sort of general clamor, to call upon them to move it; and upon their refusal, the other magistrates had a right to propound it, even against their will [r]. If any opinion, proposed to them, was thought too general, and to include several distinct articles, some of which might be approved, and others rejected, it was usual to require, that it might be divided, and sometimes by a general voice of the assembly, calling out, *divide, divide* [s]. Or if in the debate, several different opinions had been offered, and each supported by a number of Senators, the Consul, in the close of it, used to recite them all, that the Senate might pass a vote separately upon each: but in this, he gave what preference he thought fit, to that opinion which he most favored, and sometimes even suppressed such of them, as he wholly disapproved [t]. In Cases however, where there appeared to be no difficulty or opposition, decrees were sometimes made, without any opinion being asked or delivered upon them [u].

Division of the question.

When any question was put to the vote, it was determined always by a division or separation of the opposite parties, to different parts of the Senate house; the Consul or presiding magistrate

Division of the House.

[r] Conclamatum deinde ex omni parte Curiae est, uti referret P. Aelius Praetor. [Liv. xxx. 21.] Flagitare Senatus institit Cornutum, ut referret statim de tuis litteris. Ille, se considerare velle. cum ei magnum convicium fieret a cuncto Senatu, quinque Tribuni preterulerunt. [Cic. Ep. Fam. x. 16.] De quo legando spero Consules ad Senatum relatores; qui si dubitabunt, aut gravabuntur, ego me profiteor relaturum. Cic. pr. Leg. Man. 19.

[s] Quod fieri in Senatu solet, faciendum ego in Philoſophia etiam existi-

mo; cum cenſeat aliquis quod ex parte mihi placeat, jubeo dividere ſententiam. [Senec. Epist. 21.] Poſtulatam eſt, ut Bibuli ſententia divideretur. Cic. Ep. Fam. i. 2. Vid. Afcon. in Orat. pr. Mil. 6.

[t] Lentulus Conſul ſententiam Calidii pronuntiaturum ſe omnino negavit. Cæſ. Comm. Bell. Civ. 429.

[u] Præclara tum oratio M. Antonii--de qua ne ſententias quidem diximus. Scriptum S. C. quod fieri vellet, attulit. Cic. Phil. i. 1.

having first given order for it in this form; *let those, who are of such an opinion, pass over to that side; those, who think differently, to this* [x]. What the majority of them approved, was drawn up into a decree, which was generally conceived in words prepared and dictated by the first mover of the question, or the principal speaker in favor of it; who, after he had spoken upon it, what he thought sufficient to recommend it to the Senate, used to conclude his speech, by summing up his opinion in the form of such a decree, as he desired to obtain in consequence of it [y]: which decree, when confirmed by the Senate, was always signed and attested by a number of Senators, who chose to attend through the whole process of it, for the sake of adding their names to it, as a testimony of their particular approbation of the thing, as well as of respect to the person, by whose authority, or in whose favor it was drawn [z].

Ayes and Noes.

When the Senate appeared to be disposed and ready to pass a decree, it was in the power of any one of the ten Tribuns of the people, *to intercede*, as it was called; that is, to quash it at once, by his bare negative, without assigning any reason [a]. The

Intrusion.

[x] Qui hoc censetis, illuc transite; qui alia omnia, in hanc partem. [Fest. in Voc. Qui.] de tribus Legatis, frequentes ierunt in alia omnia. Cic. Ep. Fam. i. 2.

[y] Thus *Cicero's Philippic* Orations, which were spoken at different times in the Senate, on points of the greatest importance, generally conclude with the form of such a decree, as he was recommending on each particular occasion; Quæ cum ita sint; or Quas ob res ita cenfeo. Vid. Philip. iii. v. viii. ix. x. xiii. xiv.

Cicero speaking of the decree, by which the accomplices of *Catiline* were

condemned to suffer death, gives this reason why it was drawn in the name and words of *Cato*, tho' *Silanus*, the Consul elect, had delivered the same opinion before him; because *Cato* had spoken upon it more explicitly, fully, and strongly than *Silanus*. Ep. ad Att. xii. 21.

[z] Hæc enim Senatus consulta non ignoro ab amicissimis ejus, cujus de honore agitur, scribi solere: [Cic. Ep. Fam. xv. 6. it. viii. 8.] these subscriptions were called, S. C^{ti} auctoritates. ibid.

[a] Veto was the solemn word used by the Tribuns, when they inhibited

general

general law of these *intercessions* was, that any magistrate might inhibit the acts of his equal, or inferior [*b*]: but the Tribuns had the sole prerogative, of controuling the acts of every other magistrate, yet could not be controuled themselves by any [*c*]. But in all cases, where the determinations of the Senate were overruled by the negative of a Tribun, of which there are numberless instances, if the Senate was unanimous, or generally inclined to the decree so inhibited, they usually passed a vote to the same purpose, and in the same words, which, instead of a decree, was called *an authority of the Senate*, and was entered into their journals [*d*], yet had no other force, than to testify the judgement of the Senate on that particular quæstion, and to throw the odium of obstructing an usefull act, on the Tribun, who had hindered it. And in order to deter any magistrate, from acting so factiously and arbitrarily in affairs of importance, they often made it part of the decree, which they were going to enact, that if any one attempted to obstruct it, *he should be deemed to act against the interest of the Republic* [*e*]. Yet this clause had seldom any effect on the hardy Tribuns, who used to apply their

any decree of the Senate, or law proposed to the people. Faxo, ne juvet vox ista, Veto, qua nunc concinentes Collegas nostros tam læti auditis. Liv. vi. 37.

[*b*] Postea scripsit (Varro) de intercessionibus, dixitque intercedendi, ne Senatus consultum fieret, jus fuisse iis solis, qui eadem potestate, qua ii, qui S. C. facere vellent, majoreve essent. [A. Gell. xiv. 7.] Ast ni potestas par majore prohibisset, Senatus consulta perscripta servanto. Cic. de Leg. iii. 3.

[*c*] Οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν παραιτούμενων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἐπισχεῖν ἢ καλῶσαι τῶν ἄλλων τινὶ ἔξεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐτέρῃ δυνάμει τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι. Dionys.

x. 31.

[*d*] De his rebus Senatus auctoritas gravissima intercessit: cui cum Cato & Caninius intercessissent, tamen est perscripta. [Cic. Ep. Fam. i. 2.] Servilius Ahala---si quis intercedat Senatus consulto, se auctoritate fere contentum, dixit. Liv. iv. 57. Vid. Dio. iv. 550.

[*e*] Senatum existimare, neminem eorum, qui potestatem habent intercedendi---moram asserre oportere, quominus S. C. fieri possit, qui impedit ---eum Senatum existimare, contra Rempub. fecisse. Si quis huic S. C^o intercesserit, Senatui placere, auctoritatem perscribi. Cic. Ep. Fam. viii. 8. ad Att. iv. 2.

negative in defiance of it, as freely, as on any other more indifferent occasion.

But the private Senators also, and especially the factious and leaders of parties, had several arts of obstructing or postponing a decree, by many pretexts and impediments, which they could throw in it's way. Sometimes they alledged scruples of religion; *that the Auspices were not favorable, or not rightly taken*; which, if confirmed by the Augurs, put a stop to the business for that day [f]. At other times, they urged some pretended admonition from the *Sibylline books*, which were then to be consulted and interpreted to a sense, that served their purpose [g]. But the most common method was, *to waste the day*, by speaking for two or three hours successively, so as to leave no time to finish the affair in that meeting; of which we find many examples in the old writers: yet when some of the more turbulent magistrates were grossly abusing this right, against the general inclination of the assembly, the Senators were sometimes so impatient, as to silence them, as it were, by force, and to disturb them in such a manner, by their clamor and hissing, as to oblige them to desist [h].

Romans and Americans
alike.

[f] Recitatis litteris, oblata religio Cornuto est. Pullariorum admonitu, non satis diligenter eum auspiciis operam dedisse; idque a nostro Collegio esse comprobatum. itaque res dilata est in posterum. Ep. Fam. x. 12.

[g] Thus in a debate on the subject of replacing King *Ptolemy* on the throne of *Ægypt*; the Tribun *Cato*, who opposed it, produced some verses from the *Sibylline books*, by which they were warned, never to restore any King of *Ægypt* with an army; upon which the Senate laid hold on that pretext, and voted it dangerous to the Republic, to

send the King home with an army. [Dio. 39. p. 98. Cic. ad Fratr. ii. 2.] concerning which *Cicero*, in his account of it to *Lentulus*, says, Senatus religionis calumniam non religione, sed malevolentia, & illius regie largitionis invidia comprobatur. Cic. Ep. Fam. i. 1.

[h] C. Cæsar Consul M. Catonem sententiam rogavit. Cato rem, quam consulebatur, quoniam non e Repub. videbatur, perfici volebat. ejus rei gratia ducendæ, longa oratione utebatur, eximebatque dicendo diem. A. Gell. iv. 10.

Cum ad Clodium ventum est, cupiit

It

It seems probable, that a certain number of Senators was required by law, as necessary to legitimate any act, and give force to a decree. For it was objected sometimes to the Consuls, that they had procured decrees *surreptitiously, and by stealth as it were, from an house not sufficiently full* [*i*]: and we find business also postponed by the Senate, for the want of *a competent number* [*k*]: so that when any Senator, in a thin house, had a mind to put a stop to their proceedings, he used to call out to the Consul, *to number the Senate* [*l*]. Yet there is no certain number specified by any of the old writers, except in one or two particular cases. For example; when the *Bacchanalian* rites were prohibited in Rome, it was decreed, that no one should be permitted to use them, without a special licence granted for that purpose by the Senate, when *an hundred members* were present [*m*]: and this perhaps was the proper number required at that time in all cases, when the Senate consisted of *three hundred*. But about a century after, when its number was increased to *five hundred*, C. Cornelius, a Tribune of the people, procured a law, that the Senate should not have a power of *absolving any one from the obligation of the laws*, unless *two hundred* Senators were present [*n*].

diem consumere: neque ei finis est factus: sed tamen cum horas tres fere dixisset, odio & strepitu Senatus, coactus est aliquando perorare. Cic. ad Att. iv. 2.

[*i*] Neque his contentus Consul fuit. Sed postea per infrequentiam furtim Senatus consulto adjecit &c. [Liv. xxxviii. 44.] Qui per infrequentiam furtim Senatus consultum ad aerarium detulit. Liv. xxxix. 4.

[*k*] In Kalendas rejecta re, ne frequentiam quidem efficere potuerunt. Cic. Ep. Fam. viii. 3. it. viii. 5.

[*l*] *Numera Senatum*, ait quivis Senator Consuli, cum impedimento vult esse,

quo minus faciat S. C. Fest. in Voc. Numera.

Renuntiatum nobis erat, Hirrum diutius dicturum, prendimus eum, non modo non fecit, sed cum de hostibus ageretur, & posset rem impedire, si, ut *numeraretur*, postulare, tacuit. Cic. Ep. Fam. viii. 11.

[*m*] Quum in Senatu centum non minus adessent. Liv. xxxix. 18.

[*n*] Diximus—Cornelium primo legem promulgasse, nequis per Senatum lege solveretur: deinde tulisse, ut tum denique de ea re S. C. fieret, cum adessent in Senatu non minus cc.

Ascon. in Orat. pr. Cornel. i.

Decrees read to the people. The decrees of the Senate were usually published, and openly read to the people, soon after they were passed; and an authentic copy of them was always deposited in the public treasury of the city, or otherwise they were not considered as legal or valid [o]. When the business of the day was finished, the Consul, or other magistrate, by whom the Senate had been called together, used to dismiss them with these words, *Fathers, I have no farther occasion to detain you; or, no body detains you* [p].

S E C T. VI.

Of the force or effect of the decrees of the Senate.

AS to the force of these decrees, it is difficult to define precisely, what it was. It is certain, that they were not considered as laws, but seem to have been designed originally, as the ground work or preparatory step to a law, with a sort of provisional force, till a law of the same tenor should be enacted in form by the people; for in all ages of the Republic no law was ever made, but by the general suffrage of the people. The decrees of the Senate related chiefly to the executive part of the government; to the assignment of provinces to their magistrates; and of stipends to their generals, with the number of their soldiers; and to all occasional and incidental matters, that were not provided for by the laws, and required some present regulation: so that for the most part, they were but of a temporary nature, nor of force any longer, than the particular occasions subsisted, to which they had been applied.

[o] Senatus consulta nunquam facta ad ærarium (ab Antonio) referebantur. [Cic. Phil. v. 4.] Igitur factum S. C. ne decreta Patrum ante diem decimum ad ærarium deferrentur. Tacit. Ann. iii. 51.

[p] Neque unquam recessit de Curia, nisi Consul dixisset, *nihil vos moramur, Patres conscripti.* [Capitolin. de M. Aurel.] Tum ille, se Senatum negavit tenere. Cic. ad Fratr. ii. 1.

But

But though they were not, strictly speaking, laws; yet they were understood always to have a binding force; and were generally obeyed and submitted to by all orders, till they were annulled by some other decree, or overruled by some law. Yet this deference to them, as I have signified above, was owing rather to custom, and a general reverence of the city for the authority of that supreme council, than to any real obligation derived from the constitution of the government. For in the early ages, upon a dispute concerning a particular decree, we find the Consuls, who were charged with the execution of it, refusing to enforce it, because it was made by their predecessors, alledging, *that the decrees of the Senate continued onely in force for one year*; or during the magistracy of those, by whom they were made [q]. And Cicero likewise, when it served the cause of a client, whom he was defending, to treat a decree of the Senate with slight, declared it to be of no effect, *because it had never been offered to the people, to be enacted into a law* [r]. In both which cases, though the Consuls and Cicero said nothing, but what was agreeable to the nature of the thing, yet they said it perhaps more strongly and peremptorily, than they would otherwise have done, for the sake of a private interest; the Consuls, to save themselves the trouble of executing a disagreeable act; and Cicero, to do a present service to a client, who was in great danger and distress. But on all occasions indeed, the principal magistrates, both at home and abroad, seem to have paid more or less respect to the decrees of the Senate, as it happened to serve their particular interest, or inclination, or the party, which they espoused in the state [s].

[q] Καὶ ἅμα εἰδὲ εἶναι νόμους εἰς αἰεὶ κυρίους, αὐτὴ φιζέσθαι τὸ συνέδριον, ἀλλὰ ἀπολλέμεναι καὶ ὅν ἐν ἀνύσειον ἐχόντων ἰσχυόν. Dionys. ix. 37.

[r] Cic. pr. Cluentio, 49.

[s] Cicero recommending the affairs of *Carellia* to *P. Servilius*, when he

was governor of *Asia*, puts him in mind, that there was a decree of the Senate subsisting, which was favorable to her interest, and that he knew *Servilius* to be one of those, who paid great regard to the authority of the Senate. Ep. Fam. xiii. 72.

But in the last age of the Republic, when the usurped powers of some of it's chiefs had placed them above the controul of every custom or law, that obstructed their ambitious views, we find the decrees of the Senate treated by them, and by all their creatures, with the utmost contempt [z]; whilst they had a bribed and corrupted populace at their command, ready to grant them every thing, that they desired, till they had utterly oppressed the public liberty.

S E C T. VII.

Of the peculiar dignity, honors, and ornaments of a Roman Senator.

IT is natural to imagine, that the members of this supreme council, which held the reins of so mighty an empire, and regulated all it's transactions with foreign states, and which, in it's *flourishing condition*, as *Cicero* says, *presided over the whole earth* [u], must have been considered every where as persons of the first eminence, which the world was then acquainted with. And we find accordingly, that many of them had even *Kings, cities, and whole nations*, under their particular patronage [x]. *Cicero* reciting the advantages of a Senator, above the other orders of the city, says, that he had *authority and splendor at home; fame and interest in countries abroad* [y]: and on another occasion, "what city is there, says he, not onely in our provinces, but in

[z] Habet orationem talem Consul, (Gabinus) qualem nunquam Catilina victor habuisset; errare homines, si etiam tum Senatum aliquid in Repub. posse, arbitrantur. Cic. pr. Sext. 12.

[u] Qui quondam florens Orbi terrarum præsidebat. Phil. ii. 7.

[x] In ejus magistratus tutela Reges atque exteræ gentes semper fuerunt. [pr. Sext. 30.] Dux maxime Clientelæ tuæ,

[Catoni.] Cyprus Insula, & Cappadociæ regnum, tecum de me loquuntur: puto etiam Regem Deiotarum, qui tibi uni est maxime necessarius. [Cic. Ep. Fam. xv. 4.] Adiunt Segestani, Clientes tui (P. Scipionis.) [In Verr. iv. 36.] Marcelli, Siculorum Patroni. Ib. 41.

[y] Auctoritas, domi splendor; apud exteræ nationes, nomen & gratia. pr. Cluen. 56.

"the

“ the remotest parts of the earth, ever so powerfull and free, or
 “ ever so rude and barbarous ; or what King is there, who is not
 “ glad to invite and entertain a Senator of the Roman people in
 “ his house [x] ? ”

It was from this order alone, that all ambassadors were chosen and sent to foreign states : and when they had occasion to travel abroad, even on their private affairs, they usually obtained from the Senate the privilege of a *free legation*, as it was called ; which gave them a right to be treated every where with the honors of an ambassador, and to be furnished on the road with a certain proportion of provisions and necessaries for themselves and their attendants [a] : and as long as they resided in the Roman provinces, the governors used to assign them a number of *lictors*, or mace-bearers, to march before them in state, as before the magistrates in *Rome* [b]. And if they had any law-suit or cause of property depending in those provinces, they seem to have had a right to require it to be remitted to *Rome* [c].

At home likewise they were distinguished by peculiar honors and privileges : for at the pulic shews and plays, they had particular seats set apart and appropriated to them in the most commodious part of the theatre [d] : and on all solemn festivals, when

[x] *Ecquæ civitas est, non in provinciis nostris, verum in ultimis nationibus, aut tam potens, aut tam libera, aut etiam tam immanis ac barbara : Rex denique ecquis est, qui Senatorem populi Romani tecto ac domo non invitet ?* Cic. in Verr. iv. 11.

[a] *Placitum est mihi, ut postularem legationem liberam mihi reliquisque nostris, ut aliqua causa proficiscendi honesta quaereretur.* Cic. Ep. Fam. xi. 1. it. vid. Att. xv. 11. C. Anicius—negotiorum suorum causa, legatus est in Afri-

cam, legatione libera. Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 21. Suet. in Tiber. 31.

[b] *Idque a te peto, quod ipse in provincia facere sum solitus, non rogatus, ut omnibus Senatoribus Lictores darem : quod idem acceperam & cognoveram a summis viris factitatum.* Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 21.

[c] *Illud præterea---feceris mihi pergratum---si eos, quum cum Senatore res eſt, Romam rejeceris.* Ib. xiii. 26.

[d] *Lentulus, Popillium, quod erat libertini filius in Senatum non legit, lo-*
 sacrifices

sacrifices were offered to *Jupiter* by the magistrates, they had the sole right of *feasting publicly in the capitol*, in habits of ceremony, or such as were proper to the offices, which they had born in the city [e].

Yest.

Latus clavus

They were distinguished also from all the other citizens by the ornaments of their ordinary dress and habit, especially by their *vest or tunic*, and the fashion of their shoes; of which the old writers make frequent mention. The peculiar ornament of their *tunic* was the *latus clavus*, as it was called, being a broad stripe of purple, sewed upon the forepart of it, and running down the middle of the breast, which was the proper distinction between them and the Knights, who wore a much narrower stripe of the same color, and in the same manner [f]. The fashion also of their shoes was peculiar and different from that of the rest of the

cum quidem Senatorium ludis, & cetera ornamenta reliquit. Cic. pr. Clu. 47. vid. it. Plutar. in Flaminin. p. 380. A.

But in the shews and games of the *Circus* they used to sit promiscuously with the other citizens, till the emperor *Claudius* assigned them peculiar seats there also. Suet. in Claud. 21.

The place where the Senators sat in the theaters was called the *Orchestra*, which was below all the steps or common benches of the theaters, and on a level with that part of the stage, on which the Pantomimes performed. vid. Suet. Aug. 35. & in J. Cæs. 39.

Æquales illic habitus, similesque videtur

Orchestra[m] & populum.---

Juv. Sat. iii. 177.

In Orchestra autem Senatorum sunt sedibus loca destinata. Vitruv. l. v. c. 6.

[e] Quosdam (Senatores) ad excusandi se verecundiam compulsi: servavitque

etiam excusantibus insigne vestis, & spectandi in Orchestra, epulandique publice jus. [Suet. Aug. 35.] Ea simulatas quum diu mansisset; & solemnem die Jovi libaretur, atque ob id sacrificium Senatus in Capitolio epularetur. A. Gell. xii. 8. Dio. lv. 554. C.

[f] Galli braccas deposuerunt, latus clavum sumpserunt. [Suet. J. Cæs. 80.] Anuli distinxere ordinem Equestrem a plebe---sicut tunica ab anulis Senatum---quamquam & hoc fero, vulgoque purpura latiore tunicæ usos etiam invenimus Præcones. Plin. Hist. xxxiii. 1.

Quid confert purpura major

Optandum?— Juv. Sat. i. 106.

Nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium impediit crus

Pellibus, & latus demisit pectore clavum. Hor. S. i. 6. 28.

Paterculus de Mæcenate, Vixit angusto clavo contentus. l. ii. 88.

city.

city. *Cicero* speaking of one *Afinius*, who in the general confusion occasioned by *J. Cæsar's* death, had intruded himself into the Senate, says, *that seeing the Senate house open after Cæsar's death, he changed his shoes, and became a Senator at once* [g]: this difference appeared in the color, shape, and ornament of the shoes. The color of them was *black*, while others wore them of any color perhaps, agreeably to their several fancies. The form of them was somewhat like to a short boot, reaching up to the middle of the leg, as they are sometimes seen in ancient statues and bas reliefs: and the proper ornament of them was, the figure of an *half moon*, sewed or fastened upon the forepart of them near the ancles [b]. *Plutarch*, in his Roman quæstions, proposes several reasons of this emblematical figure [i]: yet other writers say, that it had no relation to the moon, as it's shape seemed to indicate, but was designed to express the letter C, as the numeral mark of an hundred, to denote the original number of the Senate, when it was first instituted by *Romulus* [k].

As to the gown, or upper robe of the Senators, I have not observed it to be described any where, as differing from that of the other citizens; except of such of them onely, as were actual magistrates of the city, as the *Consuls*, *Prætors*, *Ædiles*, *Tribuns*, &c. who, during the year of their magistracy, always wore the *Prætecta*, or a gown bordered round with a stripe of purple [l]: *Prætecta*.

[g] Est etiam Afinius quidam Senator voluntarius, lectus ipse a se. apertam Curiam vidit post Cæsar's necem: mutavit calceos: pater conscriptus repente est factus. Cic. Phil. xiii. 13.

[b] Adpositam nigræ lunam subtexit alutæ. Juv. vii. 192.

nigris medium impedit crus

Pellibus—

Hor. sup.

[i] Quæst. Roman. 75.

[k] Zonar. xi. Isidor. xix. 34.

[l] Cum vos vestem mutandam censuissetis, cunctique mutassent, ille (Consul Gabinius) unguentis oblitus, cum toga prætexta, quam omnes Prætores, Ædilesque abjecerant, irrigit squalorem meum. Cic. post red. in Sen. 5.

Quod Tribuni plebis prætextam quoque gestare solerent, a Cicerone indicatum est, qui Quintii Tribuni pl. purpuram usque ad talos demissam irridet, [pr. Cluen. 40.] quam quidem purpuram

in which habit also, as I have signified above, all the rest of the Senate, who had already born those offices, used to assist at the public festivals and solemnities [*m*].

Quintilianus, de eodem *Quintio* loquens, *Prætextam* appellat. l. v. 13. p. 275. Ed. Oxon. quintus præterea dies Cæsari tribueretur? cur non sumus prætextati? Cic. Phil. ii. 43.

[*m*] Nescis heri quantum in Circo dicim Ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te autem ipsum ad populum tulisse, ut Prætorio licet prætexta toga uti, Festis aut Solennibus diebus. Senec. Controv. l. i. 8.

APPENDIX.

TO this description of the Roman Senate, I have subjoined here, by way of Appendix, an extract or two from *Cicero's* letters and orations, which give a distinct account of some particular debates, and the entire transactions of several different days; and will illustrate and exemplify, what has been said above, concerning the method of their proceedings.

M. CICERO to his brother QUINTUS.

Lib. ii. 1.

“THE Senate was fuller, than I thought it possible to have been, in the month of *December*, when the holydays were coming on [n]. There were present, of us Consulars, besides the two Consuls elect, *P. Servilius*, *M. Lucullus*, *Lepidus*, *Volcatius*, *Glabrio*. All the Prætors. We were really full: two hundred at least in all. *Lupus* had raised an expectation. He spoke indeed exceedingly well on the affair of the *Campanian lands* [o]: was heard with great silence. You know the nature of the subject. He ran over all my acts, without omitting one. There were some stings on *C. Cæsar*, abuses on

[n] These holydays were the *Saturnalia*, sacred to Saturn, which lasted, as some say, five, or as others, seven days. But the two last were an addition to the ancient festival, and called *Sagillaria*.

Et jam Saturni quinque fuerat dies.

Mart. iv. 89.

Saturni septem venerat ante dies.

Id. xiv. 7.

[o] *P. Rutilius Lupus* was one of the new Tribunes of the people, just entered into his office on the 10th of *December*,

A. U. 696, by whose authority this meeting of the Senate appears to have been summoned, in order to reconsider the affair of the *Campanian lands*, and to repeal the law, which *J. Cæsar* had procured from the people about three years before, for a division of those lands to the poorer citizens; to the great disgust of the Senate, and all the honest part of the city. See Life of *Cic.* vol. i. p. 294, 428.

VOL. III.

N n n

“ *Gellius*,

“ *Gellius*, expostulations with *Pompey*, in his absence. He did not conclude till it was late; and then declared, that he would ask our opinions, lest he might expose us to the inconvenience of any man’s resentment [*p*]: that from the reproaches, with which that affair had been treated before, and from the silence, with which he was now heard, he understood, what was the sense of the Senate; and so was going to dismiss us. Upon which *Marcellinus* said, you must not judge from our silence, *Lupus*, what it is that we approve or disapprove on this occasion: for as to myself (and the rest, I believe, are of the same mind) I am silent upon it for this reason, because I do not think it proper, that the case of the *Campanian lands* should be debated in *Pompey’s* absence [*q*]. Then *Lupus* said, that he detained the Senate no longer. But *Racilius* rose up, and began to move the business of the trials [*r*]: and asked *Marcellinus* the first [*s*]. Who, after heavy complaints on the burnings, murders, stonings, committed by *Clodius*, delivered his opinion; that he himself, with the assistance of the Prætor of the city, should make an allotment of judges, and when that allotment was made, that then the assemblies of the people should

[*p*] The repeal of this law would have been greatly resented by *J. Cæsar*, who was now commanding in *Gaul*: and more immediately by *Pompey*, who was now united with him in the league of the Triumvirate, and engaged to support all his interests in *Rome*.

[*q*] *Pompey* was now in *Sardinia*, providing stores of corn for the use of the city, where there was a great scarcity: which commission had been decreed to him by the Senate at *Cicero’s* motion. See life of *Cic.* vol. i. p. 407.

[*r*] *T. Annius Milo*, one of the late Tribuns, whose office was just expired, had impeached *Clodius* in form, for the violences committed by him in the city,

but *Clodius*, by faction and the help of the Consul *Metellus*, found means to retard and evade any trial; and to screen himself from that danger, was suing for the Ædileship of the next year. *Milo* therefore, on his side, contrived by his Tribunitian power, to obstruct any election, till *Clodius* should be brought to a trial. This was the present state of the affair, and the point in debate was, whether the trials or the elections should be held the first.

[*s*] *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus* was now Consul elect, and *L. Marcius Philippus*, mentioned below, was his Colleague, who were to enter into office on the first of *January*.

“ be

“ be held for the elections. That if any one should obstruct the
 “ trials, he should be deemed to act against the interest of the Re-
 “ public. This opinion was greatly applauded : *C. Cato* spoke
 “ against it ; and *Cassius* also, but with a great clamor of the Se-
 “ nate, when he declared himself for the assemblies, preferably to
 “ the trials. *Philippus* assented to *Lentulus's* opinion, *Racilius*
 “ afterwards asked me the first of the private Senators. I spoke
 “ long, on all the madness and violences of *P. Clodius*, and ac-
 “ cused him, as if he had been a criminal at the bar, with many
 “ and favorable murmurings of the whole Senate. *Vetus Anti-*
 “ *stius* said much in praise of my speech, nor indeed without some
 “ eloquence [1]. He espoused the cause of the trials, and declared,
 “ that he would have them brought on the first. The house was
 “ going into that opinion : when *Clodius* being asked [u], began
 “ to waste the day in speaking. He raved, at his being so abu-
 “ sively and roughly treated by *Racilius*, when, on a sudden, his
 “ mercenaries without doors raised an extraordinary clamor, from
 “ the Greek station and the steps, incited, I suppose, against *Q.*
 “ *Sextilius* and the friends of *Milo*. Upon this alarm, we broke
 “ up instantly in great disgust. You have the acts of one day :
 “ the rest, I guess, will be put off to the month of *January*.

M. TULLIUS CICERO, to P. LENTULUS, *Proconsul*.

Ep. Fam. i. 2.

“ **N**OTHING was done in the Senate, on the *Ides of Ja-*
 “ *nuary* : because a great part of the day was spent in an
 “ altercation, between *Lentulus*, the Consul, and *Caninius*, Tri-
 “ bun of the people. I spoke much also myself on that day, and
 “ seemed to make a great impression on the Senate, by reminding

[1] *Racilius*, *C. Cato*, *Cassius*, *Antistius*, the chief speakers in this debate, were all Tribuns of the people, and Col-
 legues of *Lupus*.

[u] He was asked probably by one of the Tribuns, *Cato* or *Cassius*, who were on the same side of the question with him.

“ them of your affection to their order. The day following there-
 “ fore it was resolved, that we should deliver our opinions in
 “ short [x]. For the inclination of the Senate appeared to be
 “ turned again in our favor : which I clearly saw, as well by the
 “ effect of my speaking, as by applying to them singly, and ask-
 “ ing their opinions. Wherefore when *Bibulus's* opinion was de-
 “ clared the first ; that three embassadors should carry back the
 “ King : *Hortensius's* the second ; that you should carry him with-
 “ out an army : *Volcatius's* the third ; that *Pompey* should carry
 “ him back : it was demanded, that *Bibulus's* opinion should be
 “ divided. As to what he said, concerning the scruple of reli-
 “ gion [y], to which no opposition could then be made, it was
 “ agreed to by all : but as to the three embassadors, there was a
 “ great majority against it. *Hortensius's* opinion was next : when

[x] This letter was written about a month after the former ; soon after *Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus* and *L. Marcus Philippus* had entered upon the Consulship. The question under debate was, in what manner they should restore King *Ptolemy* to the throne of *Egypt*, from which he had been driven by his subjects. *P. Lentulus Spinther*, to whom this letter is addressed, who had been Consul the year before, and was now Proconsul of *Cilicia*, was very desirous to be charged with the commission of restoring the King : *Cicero* was warmly in his interest, and *Pompey* pretended to be so too : yet all *Pompey's* friends were openly soliciting the commission for *Pompey*.

[y] When this affair was first moved in the Senate, they seemed to be generally inclined to grant the commission to *Lentulus* ; and actually passed a decree in his favor : yet many of them afterwards, either out of envy to *Lentulus*, or a desire of paying their court to *Pompey*,

or a dislike to the design itself, of restoring the King at all, contrived several pretexts to obstruct the effect of it : and above all, by producing certain verses from the *Sibylline* books, forewarning the Roman people, never to restore any King of *Egypt* with an army. *Bibulus's* opinion related to these verses, and upon their authority, declared it dangerous to the Republic, to send the King home with an army : and though this pretext was so silly in itself, and known to be so by all those, who made use of it, yet the superstition of the populace, and their reverence for the *Sibyl's* authority was so great, that no opposition could be made to it. The Senate embraced it therefore, as *Cicero* says, not from any scruple of religion, but malevolence to *Lentulus*, and the envy and disgust, which the scandalous bribery, practised by the King, had raised against him. See Ep. i.

“ *Lupus*,

“ *Lupus*, Tribune of the people, because he had made the motion
 “ in favor of *Pompey*, began to insist, that it was his right to di-
 “ vide the house upon it, before the Consuls [z]. There was a
 “ great and general outcry against his speech; for it was both
 “ unreasonable and unprecedented. The Consuls neither allowed,
 “ nor greatly opposed it: they had a mind, that the day should
 “ be wasted; which was done accordingly. For they saw a
 “ great majority, ready to go into *Hortensius’s* opinion, yet seem-
 “ outwardly to favor *Volcatius’s*. Many were asked, and against
 “ the will of the Consuls. For they were desirous, that *Bibulus’s*
 “ opinion should take place. This dispute being kept up till
 “ night, the Senate was dismissed,” &c.

In one of *Cælius’s* letters to *Cicero*, we find the following de-
 crees of the Senate transcribed in proper form, and sent with the
 other news of the city to *Cicero*, when Proconsul of *Cilicia*.

“ The authority of the decree of the Senate. On the 30th of
 “ September, in the temple of *Apollo*, there were present at the
 “ engrossing of it, *L. Domitius*, the son of *Cn. Abenobarbus*;
 “ *Q. Cæcilius*, the son of *Q. Metellus Pius Scipio*; *L. Villius*, the
 “ son of *Lucius Annalis*, of the *Pomptine* tribe: *C. Septimius*, the
 “ son of *Titus*; of the *Quirine* tribe: *C. Lucceius*, the son of *C.*
 “ *Hirrus*; of the *Pupinianian* tribe: *C. Scribonius*, the son of *C.*
 “ *Curio*; of the *Popillian* tribe: *L. Atteius*, the son of *L. Capito*;
 “ of the *Anienfian* tribe: *M. Oppius*, the son of *Marcus*, of the
 “ *Terentine* tribe. Whereas *M. Marcellus*, the Consul, proposed

[z.] The opinion delivered in this
 debate in favor of *Pompey*, was first pro-
 posed by *Volcatius*, a Consular Senator;
 yet was espoused afterwards by *Lupus*,
 Tribune of the people, and referred, or
 moved by him in form to the Senate, in
 order to be put to a vote, which was
 the peculiar right of the magistrates.
 But as to his dispute with the Consul

about a priority in dividing the house,
 it seems to have been started by him
 with no other view, but to waste the
 day, as the Consuls also desired to do,
 in a fruitless altercation, so as to prevent
Hortensius’s opinion, which seemed
 likely to prevail, from being brought in-
 to debate.

“ the

“ the affair of the Consular provinces, his opinion upon it was
 “ this ; that *L. Paullus* and *C. Marcellus*, Consuls elect, should
 “ after their entrance into their magistracy, refer the case of the
 “ Consular provinces to the Senate, on the first of *March*, which
 “ was to be in their magistracy : and that no other business should
 “ be moved by the Consuls on that day before it, nor any jointly
 “ with it : and that for the sake of this affair, they might hold
 “ the Senate, and make a decree on the *Comitial* days : and when-
 “ ever it should be brought before the Senate, they might call
 “ away from the bench any of the three hundred, who were then
 “ judges : and if it was necessary, that any thing should be en-
 “ acted about it by the people or the Commons, that *Serv.*
 “ *Sulpicius* and *M. Marcellus*, the Consuls, the Prætors, the
 “ Tribuns, or any of them, who thought fit, should lay it before
 “ the people or the Commons : and whatever they omitted to
 “ refer to the people or the Commons, that the succeeding ma-
 “ gistrates should refer it.”

In *Cicero's* first *Philippic* also, in which he is reciting all their late transactions in the Senate, from the time of *Cæsar's* death, there is this passage : “ On that day, in which we were summoned
 “ to the temple of *Tellus*, I there laid a foundation of peace, as
 “ far as it was in my power, and renewed the old example of the
 “ *Athenians*, and made use of the same *Greek word*, which that
 “ city then used, in calming their civil dissensions [*a*] : and gave
 “ my opinion, that all remembrance of our late discords should be
 “ buried in eternal oblivion. *Antony's* speech on that occasion
 “ was excellent ***. He abolished for ever out of the Repub-
 “ lic, the office of a Dictator, which had usurped all the force
 “ of regal power. Upon which we did not so much as deliver
 “ our opinions. He brought with him in writing the decree, which
 “ he was desirous to have us make upon it : which was no sooner
 “ read, than we followed his authority with the utmost zeal ;

[*a*] The *Greek word*, ἀμνηστία, amnesty.

"and gave him thanks for it by another decree in the amplest terms [b]."

But on another occasion, in his *third Philippic*, he reproaches *Antony* for decreeing a *supplication* or *public thanksgiving* to *M. Lepidus*, by a *division only*, or *vote of the Senate*, without asking any one's opinion upon it : which, in that case of a *supplication*, had never been done before [c]. For it was thought a mark of greater respect to the General, in whose honor it was granted, to give his friends an opportunity of displaying his particular praises and services, in their speeches on such occasions.

[b] Phil. i. 1.

[c] *Fugere festinans, Senatus consultum de supplicatione per discessionem fecit: cum id factum esset antea nunquam.* Phil. iii. 9.

That the opinions of the particular Senators used to be asked, in the case of decreeing supplications, appears from Cic. Ep. Fam. viii. 11.







B. Bibliotheca Vetus armaris suis, quae Clases vocamus, instructa.

B 2. Bibliotheca Veteris pars altera, in Clases etiam distributa, quam, quoniam reliquis angustior & Scholarum Pulsarum in fronte posita sit, dicendum, atque infernam quam Schema exhibet, amplificandam docuerunt Academia.

B R Bibliotheca Regia, in quam locum illud quadratum ad sinistram con- clisi, jam servantur libri omnes a Rege donati, quibus recipiendo octo Armata, seu Clases, ex utraque Con- clavis parte, ut in Veteri Bibliotheca, extracta sunt, perpetuumque pro- tecta et duplex quoddam Feruleum Corpus utriusque libris continens, quod modum demum coeat, prout longitu- dine a sole usque ad totum per septem decem tabulata exurgit, hoc tamen libris omnes capere nequamquam va- lent, quorum pars in super magna hu- mi adhuc confusa praet.

S. Senaculum, seu Domus ut dicitur Congre- gationis, quae post absolutam edificatio- nem (quam postulo, non irascimus) Biblio- theca adjunctenda sit, cuius domum fer- ram quadratum perfectumque efficiet.

BIBLIOTHECÆ
CANTABRIGIENSIS
ORDINANDÆ
METHODUS QUÆDAM;
QUAM DOMINO
PROCANCELLARIO
SENATUIQUE ACADEMICO
CONSIDERANDAM & PERFICIENDAM
OFFICII ET PIETATIS ERGO
PROPONIT.



CELEBERRIMO DOCTISSIMOQUE
 VIRO
 ANDREÆ SNAPE, S. T. P.
 COLLEGII REGALIS
 PRÆFECTO,
 ET
 HUIUSCE ACADEMIÆ
 PROCANCELLARIO,
 CONYERS MIDDLETON,
 S. P. D.

MITTO Tibi, Vir Dignissime, Tractatulum
 huncce de optima librorum collocandorum ra-
 tione; quem Tibi imprimis, Academicisque
 deinde omnibus in publicum ideo proponere statui, ne
 in torpido hocce Bibliothecæ nostræ statu, torpescere
 etiam Proto-Bibliothecarium vestrum crederetis; quum-
 que a legum olim Interpretibus sancitum fuerit, quod
 scribere sit agere, ut legitimum quoddam haberem di-

O o o 2

Agentia

ligentiæ meæ & industriæ testimonium : quicquid vero demum effecerim Tuo prorsus arbitrio dijudicandum relinquo ; iudicium enim, non Muneris magis, quod geris, dignitate, quam Ingenii & Doctrinæ præcellentia vere Tuum est, Teque, etsi Magistratum jam adire contigerit, Privatum tamen mihi omnium potissimum Consilii Autorem deligerem, Judicem peterem.

Inter tot vero, & tanta negotia, quæ Te jam totum occupant, Bibliothecam Publicam præcipue Tibi curæ fore certo scio ; cujus accurata quædam & recte ordinata dispositio ad Academiæ nostræ famam & splendorem maximi plane ponderis & momenti est ; cujusque fructus omnes nemo Te vel melius noverit vel uberius perceperit : Hæc nimirum, Fontium quorundam ad instar, qui lympham simul lumenque emittere dicuntur, Fons ille est, ex quo & Lucem & Pocula, quæ gestat manibus, haurit Alma Mater ; illa caliginem atque ignorantiae tenebras dispellens ; hisce plenos scientiæ haustus Juventuti Academicæ propinans : Sive Armamentarium Illa Academiæ dici potius mereatur ; unde Tela Filiis suis, uniuscujusque viribus accommodata distribuit Alma Mater ; quæque non nisi summo gaudio in Doctrinæ, Ecclesiæ, & Religionis hostes tam feliciter toties a suis, atque a Te præcipue haud dudum torqueri viderit.

Hanc

Hanc autem Bibliothecam tam illustrem, tamque Principis Munificentissimi beneficio auctam atque instructam pudet plane ab omni Ufu literario semotam, atque a studiis nostris conclusam tam diu jacere; Advenis tantum spectaculum, nostris desiderium; quamque Tantali ad instar sitientes intuemur, neque summis tamen labris gustare valeamus: Tuum verò est, Vir Doctissime, ad Ufus illam destinatos, ad bonas literas, bonosque mores promovendos educere tandem atque accommodare; Tuum est locorum hasce angustias amplificare; Ædificationem inchoatam absolvere; librosque, tanquam Coloniam aliquam, in novas sedes deducere, locisque suis collocare: opus quidem perdifficile, atque in impeditis hisce Academiæ temporibus non nisi Tuis viribus & Tua constantia perficiendum: etenim Te, si recte noverim, non minaces Potentium vultus, vocesque; non malorum impendentium metus, non instantium terror ab instituto cursu deflectet; ab Academiæ tuendæ atque ornandæ consilio deterrebit.

Ut dicam autem libere quod sentiam, quocunque nosmet vertamus, difficultatibus undique premi, periculisque plane obsessi esse videmur. Nonnulli dum Gradus Academicos conferendi facultatem a nobis quidem haud auferre præ se ferant; nobiscum tamen partiri, atque in commune frui sibi vendicant; Gradus, inquam, non tam nomine, quam re & natura sua vere Academicos;

micos ; in mediis scilicet Academiis natos, ipsarumque omnino causa inventos atque excogitados ; ut quibus in locis Doctrinæ potissimum studia florent, in iis Doctrina etiam ipsa cum dignitate aliqua, & insignibus quibusdam honesta esset. Alii interea, Doctores creandi jus nobis licet integrum permittant ; de Doctoratu tamen deicere, de Senatu nostro deturbare, suo nisi arbitrato & consensu haud patiuntur : rerumque adeo Academicarum Cognitionum & Judicium ad forum
 * * * * * av-cant : Quorum conatus ni repellere tandem ac propulsare valuerimus, lethale quoddam vulnus huic nostræ Academiæ infligatur necesse est.

Nil autem Te Duce desperandum est ; nil nisi lætum, faustumque nobis augurari fas est : præclara enim Vox illa Tua, Te Academiæ causa carcerem ; Te vincula lubenter subiturum ; quantam excitaverit in bonis omnibus fortitudinem, quantam spem, quantum Tui amorem ? Quippe Tu ad Rempublicam nostram ex eo jam accedis Collegio, quod singularia sua Privilegia singulari semper vigilantia conservavit, constantia defendit ; quodque Præfecti sibi eligendi jus, a jactis usque mœnium suorum fundamentis concessum simul & abreptum summa sua fortitudine recuperavit, atque e Regiis pœne manibus extorsit ; Virtutisque suæ fructus, Te tandem Præsides, jam uberrimos percipit : Tu, inquam, iis moribus, ea disciplina institutus, quæ exoleta revocare, quæ vel amissa recuperare noverit ; quidni

ni nostra facile jura omnia tueare ; jura scilicet, a primis rerum nostrarum initiis concessa ; perpetuo usu confirmata ; legibus Angliæ munita ?

In nebulosa itaque hacce Cœli nostri facie, Academiæ tamen serio gratulandum est, talem ei obligissè Gubernatorem, qui tempestates omnes noverit seu perite declinare, seu prudenter moderari, seu fortiter resistere ; neque Tibi ipsi, Vir Reverende, gratulari etiam minus liceat, Magistratum Tuum in ea incidissè tempora, quæ tantos tibi gloriæ atque laudis, quantos nobis ex Tua vigilantia felicitatis fructus allatura sint ; quæ scilicet Te totum, qualis sis, patefacient ; virtutes tuas omnes exproment, atque in lucem proferent ; ut admirentur nobiscum omnes necesse sit summam illam Tuam in rebus nostris defendendis Fortitudinem, in administrandis Prudentiam, in emendandis Virtutem.

Si quid vero adversi nobis evenerit ; si nonnullorum tandem invidiæ, temporibusque cedere cogamur ; una restat adhuc damna nobis refarciendi, & vulnera sanandi via : dum Alii scilicet in nos & studia nostra inquirere, dum mores nostros ad examen revocare, atque in judicium sistere minentur ; Nos ipsi potius in nosmet sedulo inquiramus ; Nobismet ipsis Censores, nobismet Judices simus ; Statutis nostris religiose insistendo pios, probos, severos ; Studiis diligenter incumbendo doctos, eruditos, claros nosmet efficiamus : Alii honoris Titulos,

DEDICATIO.

los, Doctoratumque ipsum artibus haudquaquam Academicis foras sibi quærant ; Nos non nisi Liberali Doctrinæ, Probatæ Industriæ, Spectatæ Fidei honores nostros deferamus : Alii Ecclesiæ Beneficia, Dignitatesque occupent ; Nos mereamur : Alii virtutis præmia, nos virtutem tamen teneamus : hisce armis, atque hac innocentia nostra muniti inimicorum facile impetus repellemus, vires frangemus ; Maledicis silentium, Malevolis pudorem offundemus.

Hæ Tibi, Vir Amplissime, gubernandi erunt artes ; hæc Tui Magistratus laus & gloria ; hanc Majorum disciplinam, hos antiquos mores Autoritate Tua restituere ; Exemplo confirmare ; Decretis stabilire. *Vale.*

BIBLIOTHECÆ CANTABRIGIENSIS ORDINANDÆ METHODUS.

POSTQUAM Senatui Academico *novum Proto-Bibliothecarii munus* eodem decreto instituere simul & ad me deferre visum est ; ne collati temere beneficii infamiam *Gravissimo Ordini* inurerem, statui illico omni studio, opera, viribusque meis eniti, ut tam honorifico vitæ meæ studiorumque testimonio aliquatenus responderem, & tanto hoc, tamque insperato prorsus honore memet haud indignum præstarem ; utque omnibus præterea ostenderem, munus ipsum non *mei solius*, sed *Bibliothecæ* omnino causa, non (quod susurrari audiebam) pro *gratia*, qua in Academia florui, sed pro *rei ipsius necessitate* esse institutum. Quum igitur ex *præsenti Bibliothecæ publicæ statu* otii mihi aliquid temporisque dari viderem, id statim arripui, atque ad ea penitus studia contuli, quæ *Bibliothecarii propria* existimantur, quæque in *ipsius Bibliothecæ* fructum redundare aliquando poterint. *Surgentia* vero jam *Theatri mœnia* quum libros versandi, utendique spem haud longinquam præbere videantur ; ne in me negligentia aliquid aut moræ crimen resideret ; quicquid mihi *de re Bibliothecaria* cogitanti unquam vel legenti occurrerat, scriptis mandandum, cumque amicis communicandum duxi, ut aliquid inde in publica Academia commoda decerpi forsitan possit : utque rebus iis omnibus, quæ ad *Bibliothecæ instructionem, ornatumque* pertineant, mature perpensis atque accurate constitutis, Bibliothecarii sese alacres præscripta

ad munia accingerent, neque loca *libris accipiendis* paratiora, quam *eis occupandis* libri reperirentur : etenim dum tanto apparatu, tantisque sumptibus honesta libris domicilia, dignæque sedes exstruantur, turpe plane esset si hisce Academiæ studiis *Bibliothecarii* minus responderent, avidisque bonorum omnium votis moræ aliquid *a se* interjici paterentur.

In hisce vero, quæ de *Bibliothecæ ordinandæ ratione* disputaturus sim, etsi nihil novi aut eximii esse satis scio, spero tamen admoneri inde atque excitari posse eruditos, ut Studiorum & cogitationum partem aliquam huc conferant, & si quid in hoc genere consilii habeant, id candide & libere impertiant : cum enim *ex egregia Regis liberalitate* tanta Bibliothecæ nostræ facta sit accessio, ut alias ubique omnes (quarum Indices scilicet impressos viderim) cum librorum numero, tum *præstantia, delectuque* facile superet, illam certe omnibus numeris absolutam, omnibus modis ornatam, illustremque efficere debemus, ut huic tandem Academiæ non minus apud externos gloriæ, quam domi fructus asferre valeat.

Quæ vero dicenda sint ut facilius clariusque intelligantur, *Schemata quoddam* adjunxi, interiorem Bibliothecæ formam (qualis absoluta tandem ædificatione futura sit) etsi minus forsan exacte, ad rem tamen nostram satis apte referens.

Comparata itaque cum nobis sit tanta librorum omnium supellex ; quod jam proximum est, eos collocandi, disponendique methodus aliqua excogitanda est, qua in *justam, pulchramque Bibliothecam* exstrui ac ædificari possint : librorum enim quantuscunque numerus *sine ordine* congestus haud magis *Bibliothecæ*, quam *lapidum illa* ad nos advectorum *moles Theatri* nomen mereatur, donec arte quadam & certo ordine dispositi perfectam tandem structuram efficiant : *artem vero illam Aristoteles* invenisse, *Regesque Egyptios* primus docuisse fertur [a] : Quo scilicet magistro *immen-*

[a] Strabo. l. xiii.

jam illam Bibliothecam & in toto terrarum Orbe celeberrimam intruxerunt: ab illo utique Authore Bibliothecarii Ordinis inventio requiri quasi de jure poterat, cujus unius Scripta (ut Hieronymus de Origene postea tradidit) Bibliothecam vel implere valuerint: libros etenim idonee collocare majoris esse prudentiæ videtur, quam congerere; hoc enim solius pecuniæ, illud non nisi ingenii vi perficitur; hoc divitem tantum, illud doctum postulat; Quodque Plinius [b] de orationis structura dixit, ad librorum etiam structuram æque pertinet: invenire præclare interdum etiam barbari solent, disponere apte nisi eruditus negatum est: neque minus propterea Aristoteli debere videantur Bibliothecæ, quam Alexander ille magnus; quem dicere solitum accepimus, Se a Philippo patre corpus tantum habuisse, ab Aristotele animum.—Non opus est singula percurrere, quæ de Bibliothecæ instruendæ ratione a Viris doctis commemorata unquam ac tradita fuerint; sufficit enim dicere, librorum juxta facultates, ut aiunt, dispositionem, seu Ordinem quem Classicum vocamus, ex omnibus mihi unice placere. Et enim Ordo cum nihil aliud sit, quam rei uniuscujusque in suo loco collocatio, quid aptius aut perfectius excogitari potest, quam hujusmodi librorum distributio, qua scilicet in Classibus propriis, haud secus ac in familiis, is singulis assignetur locus, qui ætati, dignati, & muneris rationi maxime convenit? & quum in animis hominum erudiendis librorum omnis usus versetur, iste certe ordo præponendus omnibus est, qui huic potissimum fini accommodetur; qui scilicet eruditionis aliquid in se non contineat modo, sed doceat; quemque vel intuendo doctiores evadere valeamus: ex hac enim librorum collocatione Disciplinarum omnium mutuum inter se connexionem; ex hac scientiarum ortus, incrementa, varios casus, interitus, instaurationes; ex hac, inquam, historiam quandam literariam a primis retro seculis, ad nostra usque tempora deductam, sola fere Ordinis contemplatione colligere & perdiscere liceat: quodque Cicero [c] de Ordine generatim posuit, de hoc præcipue Bibliothecario Ordine verissimum est; memorie scilicet eum quam max-

[b] Ep. l. iii. 13.

[c] De Orat. l. ii.

me lumen afferre; atque ad libros itidem transferre liceat, quod de sententiis, verbisque Oratoriis idem ille summus Magister docuit: illis [d] scilicet nec fructum nec splendorem inesse nisi diligenter collocatis: hinc præterea Authorum in quavis disciplina Principum facilis notitia, facilisque ad eos aditus patet, quibus semel comparatis dimidium certe viæ, laborisque in omni studiorum genere confici videtur, τὸ ἡμετέριον παδίως ἢ δὲ φύσει πᾶσιν ἐστίν [e]. Hæc itaque tot, tantaque nullo sane labore, atque uno quasi temporis momento edificere jucundissimum sit oportet. De hujus autem Ordinis ratione atque instituendi methodo pluribus deinceps agam, ejusque imaginem quandam, seu tabellam, ut potero, adumbrare conabor.

Nollem tamen tam *superstitiosam* institui librorum in *proprias Classes* distributionem, quin illorum *formæ* simul & *magnitudinis* ratio aliqua sit habenda: in *librariæ* enim supellestilis, haud secus ac *domesticæ* dispositione, etsi *usus* præcipue spectari, nonnihil tamen *elegantiae* etiam tribui debet: librorum autem *maxime inæqualium* conjunctio, tanquam *Gigantis* cum *Pumilione* commissio, deformis plane videtur, & aspectu ridicula. Quum vero *Bibliothecæ nostræ* foruli per *sex* quasi *tabulata*, variis voluminum formis accommodata, *duabus* hinc inde *alis* in altum sint extructi; hujusmodi omnis offensio vitari facile poterit, si ejusdem facultatis, diversæ tamen magnitudinis libri per *varios hosce forulos* pro inæqualitatis ratione distribuuntur.

Forulorum autem (quoniam mentio jam inciderit) *divisionem* immutari paululum vellem: etenim cum *unica* jam illorum *ala* (adjunctis eis, qui sub fenestris positi sunt) *distinctum* quoddam *Corpus*, seu *Armarium* conficiat, quod *Classẽ* improprie nominamus, & majuscula aliqua Alphabeti litera distinguimus; dum ejusdem *aræ pars altera*, seu forulorum *ala opposita* ad *aliã* omnino *Classẽ* pertineat (ut a. b. c. d.) vitandæ jam confusionis gratia, quam ista sæpe peperit distributio, vellem sane, ut *tota illa arca*, quæ (ad

[d] Orator.

[e] Aristot.

formam literæ H dimidiatæ) *forulis* sub fenestra positis, *duabusque hinc inde alis* constet, *unicam tantum Classẽ* conficiat, *unica Alphabeti litera* distinguendam; utque idem *forulorum numerus & forma* ex adversa *Conclavis parte* litera Alphabeti proxima designentur (ut A. B. C. D.) quosque ejusdem argumenti libros A continere nequeat, B excipiat. Quoniam denique *librorum novorum accessione* crescat *indies*, augeaturque *Bibliotheca* necesse sit; ut nulla inde *Ordinis perturbatio* consequatur, locum aliquem libris istis adventitiis, sive emptis, sive dono acceptis dicatum velim, ubi reponi aliquandiu, & singulis demum annis, seu sex mensibus in *Catalogum* adscribi, & in *Classẽs* suas distribui possint: quibusque tandem recipiendis *spatii aliquid* in singulis librorum *forulis vacuum* relinqui conveniat.

Hæc vero ut recte omnia instituamus, *commisceantur* omnino oportet *Utriusque Bibliothecæ (Regiæ scilicet & veteris)* libri: harum enim *perpetua disjunctio* magnam certe confusionem & multa incommoda pareret; librique inde minus cum *ad usum prompte*, tum ad *aspectum venuste* disponderentur, in quibus omnis *Bibliothecarum laus*, utilitasque consistere videntur; atque *ejusdem* non solum *facultatis, ejusdemque Autoris* libri, sed *ejusdem* etiam libri *partes* ex variis diffitisque hinc inde locis quærendi sæpe colligendique essent: ipsiusque adeo *Bibliothecæ splendor, dignitasque* diminuerentur, quæ *distractis, disjunctisque* copiis minus sane illustribus, minusque veneranda appareret; collectis autem in unum viribus eruditos omnes admiratione quadam commoveret, dum incredibiles ejus in omni genere literarum opes *explicitis ordinibus & continua serie* exhibitas intuerentur. Siqui vero existiment libros omnes a *Serenissimo Rege* donatos ob celebriorem rei memoriam (quam sane & omni laude dignam judico, & *sempiternam fore* spero) *sejungi* semper a reliquis, *separatimque custodiri* oportere; recordentur velim, huic aliunde satis esse provisum, ex *annua scilicet solennique Benefactorum nostrorum commemoratione*, qua cautum est ab Academia, ut grata tam insignis beneficii celebratio omni posteritati commendetur, ipso semper voluminum *numero & pretio* simul commemoratis: sin majorem adhuc diligentiam curamque postulare

lare res tanta videatur, singula præterea volumina gentilitiis *Armarum Regionum insignibus* ornari atque a cæteris distingui possint: ineptum autem ridendumque plane esset, si libros hosce ad literarum studia promovenda libere & absque ulla conditione datos, iniquis ipsimet conditionibus regulisque, usui, cui dicati erant, minime accommodis, subjiceremus.

Videmus autem in Schemate adjuncto *locæ quædam quadrata*, (I. 2. 3.) quæ *quatuor illa Bibliothecæ conclavia* connectunt inter se, communiaque & pervia reddunt: hæc, si quærat, quibus usibus destinari, qualique supellectile instrui velim, vix habeo quod respondeam; illorum nempe forma & situs ratio efficiunt, ut neque in eadem Armaria, ac reliqua Biuliotheca, dividi omnino, neque Disciplinæ alicujus libris præcipue conservandis disponi commode possint: rem vero attentius consideranti aptissima tandem visa sunt rebus eis omnibus excipiendis, quæ *elegantia* magis sint quam *necessaria*, quæque ad *speciem* potius, quam *utilitatem* Bibliothecæ pertineant: *Tabulas* velim *pictas*, *Signa*, *Statuas Græcorum Veterum & Romanorum*; *Benefactorum* etiam *Doctorumque* omnium, qui Academiam fama, scriptisque suis illustraverint, quotquot comparari poterint *imagines*.

Stabunt olim hoc in loco *Illustres illi Viri*, quorum præsidio *Musæ* jam nostræ efflorescunt, quorumque munificentia mœnia nostra surgunt: *stabit hic*, inquam, *Marmoreus, Comes Ille noster Anglesensis*, (mihi sane omnibus officiis prosequendus, laudibus celebrandus) *cujus nomen huic nostræ Cantabrigiæ splendori semper decorique erit; quam summa jam benevolentia fovet, beneficiis auget, moribus ornat: cui si propter merita in Almam Matrem (quæ maxima tamen extant) honos iste minus deberetur; at ingenium acre, at doctrina, qua præditus est, eximia in hoc certe Musarum sacrario præcipuum ei locum vendicaret.*

Hoc autem genus etſi *ſpecioſum* magis, ut dictum eſt, quam *utile* cenſeri ſoleat, ad *eruditionem* tamen haud parum valere, *Hiſtoriceque* potiffimum inſervire videtur; dum quæ in libris paſſim memorantur, quæque ex omni antiquitate præclare geſta legimus, memoriæ facile ſuggerat, oculiſque quaſi ſubjiciat: atque *hac* propterea *ſupelleſtile* omnes omnium gentium eruditi *Bibliothecas ſuas* ornare atque inſtruere conſueverint; æquum ſcilicet exiſtimantes & rationi quam maxime congruens, quibus in locis *immortales* doctorum *animæ* perpetuo loquantur, in iis etiam *Corporum ſimulacra* quædam fingi atque aſſervari debere: Εγὼ δὲ, ὦ Νικιάδης, ἡγοῦμαι μὴ εἶναι κατὰ μνημεία ἢ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων εἰκόνας. Iſocrat. Ciceronem autem horum omnium *ſummopere ſudioſum* fuiſſe plurimæ ejus epiſtolæ demonſtrant. Scribens enim ad Atticum Athenis commorantem, [*f*] *Hermæ tui Pentelici*, inquit, *jam nunc me admodum delectant*: quare *velim* & eos & *ſigna* quam plurima, quam *primumque* mittas, maxime quæ tibi *gymnaſii*, *xyſtique* videbuntur eſſe; nam in eo genere ſic *ſtudio* efferimur, ut *abs te* adjuvandi, *ab aliis* prope reprehendendi ſimus. Et rursus, [*g*] *Signa Megarica*, & *Hermas* vehementer expeſto; quicquid ejusdem generis habebis dignum *Academia* quod tibi videbitur, ne dubitaris mittere, & *arcæ noſtræ* confidito. *Arcam* vero illam *exbauſiſſe* tandem, atque ex avida horum coemptione in *cere* plane *alieno* [*b*] fuiſſe videtur. Sed vix unquam apud optimos *Romæ veteris* ſcriptores *Bibliotheca* alicujus *illuſtris* mentio incidat, quin & *ſtatuas* & *imagines* ibi dicatas commemorari ſimul inveniamus: ut *Suetonius de Tiberio*: [*i*] *Scripta eorum*, inquit, & *imagines publicis Bibliothecis* dedicavit. Et *Plinius de Siliî Italici villa*: [*k*] *Multum ubique librorum, multum ſtatuarum, multum imaginum*. Hæc igitur *Bibliothecarum* omnium tam *propria*, atque his præcipue locis *tam apta* eſſe ornamenta videntur, ut ſine *Academiæ* dedecore quodam & reprehentione deſiderari plane nequeant. Hic inſuper, ſi videbitur,

[*f*] L. i. Ep. 8.

[*g*] Ibid. Ep. 9.

[*b*] Ad Fam. l. vii. 27.

[*i*] C. 70.

[*k*] L. iii. Ep. 13.

antiqua Numismata, Sigilla, Annuli & quicquid vel natura vel artis rarum habeatur, in loculamentis, nidulisque apte dispositis condi omnia & reponi possint. Hæc denique loca sellis, mensis, rebusque aliis omnibus instructa vellem, quæ doctorum hominum congressus ibi & colloquia quam maxime provocent, qui virorum ex omni gente ac ætate principum corona quadam cincti, locique reverentia permoti nihil abjectum aut humile cogitare audebunt, sed æmulatione potius accensi Veterum Illorum gloriam scriptis factisque exæquare conabuntur: locorum enim admonitu, inquit Cicero, [1] acrius & attentius de claris viris cogitare solemus. Rogandi igitur, atque omnibus modis exorandi sunt viri ubique eruditi, qui literarum Studiis, atque huic præcipue Academiæ faveant, ut hujuscemodi aliquid ex Museis suis ad Bibliothecæ Publicæ ornatum & splendorem conferant; cujus beneficii memoriam, quibus par est, gratis celebrandam atque omni posteritati tradendam curabimus.

Conclave autem illud, quod a cæteris sejungi, atque ultra reliqua ædificii latera Cati versus in longum excurrere videmus, *librorum MSS Bibliotheca sit*, focoque iis ab humore noxio conservandis apto instructum: quod cum quinquaginta circiter pedes longum & viginti septem latum sit, huic usui accommodum satis videtur. In hoc etiam (Bibliothecæ utpote vestibulo proximum) Bibliothecarii quotidiano munere fungentes, sese recipere, advenas expectare, omnibusque Bibliothecæ occasionibus præsto esse possint: Sin autem MSS Codicum receptui ob lucis inopiam aliamve quamlibet causam minus tandem aptum reperiatur, ii tum in iisdem armariis, ac libri impressi, reponi commode possint, *valvulis autem clavibusque (ut apud Trinitonienfes)* a vulgari usu seclusi & in tuto collocati.

Libris vero pulchro tandem ordine dispositis, sequitur jam *Catalogi consciendi cura*; res sane magni momenti, multique sudoris:

[1] De fin. l. v.

non temere enim eum atque oscitanter institui (quotidianorum Catalogorum ad instar, ubi multa omiſſa, & confuſa omnia videamus) ſed diligenter & accurate deſcribi velim; ut *Bibliotheca illa*, cujus notitiam ſit exhibiturus, dignus plane reperiatur: in *Catalogo* autem *raſtè* *inſtituto* uniufcujuſque libri *hiſtoriolam* *quandam* requirimus, quæ ſingula ad eum dignoſcendum atque a cæteris omnibus diſtinguendum neceſſaria quam breviter, quamque dilucide exponat; unde præter *Authoris*, *Editoris*, *Interpretis* nomina, uno ſimul intuitu pateat, de *quo argumento* & *qua lingua* fuerit ſcriptus, *quo loco*, *anno*, *quaque voluminis forma* impreſſus: addito præterea (ut nonnullis placet) *quo Typographo*, *quo Characteris genere*, *quotaque editione* prodierit. *Catalogi conſtruendi methodum* quod attinet, *Ordo librorum Clafficus*, *Authorumque Alphabeticus* mihi longe commodiſſimi videntur; ad *perfecti* vero *Catalogi* conſtructionem *ambobus* certe *conjunctis* opus eſt: illo ſcilicet, ut uſibus, quos ſupra attigi, ſerviat; hoc, ut libri, quem quærimus, Claffem, locumque demonſtret; in quo uſus ejus præcipue conſiſtere videtur: illo, inquam, ut illuſtris, perfectæque Bibliothecæ eleganti Ordine diſpoſitæ ideam pulchram exhibeat; hoc, ut *Indicis* illi officium præſtet. Hujusmodi igitur *duplicem Catalogum* non deſcribi modo, ſed in publica literarum commoda *Typis etiam mandari* vellem; ut locupletiffimæ Bibliothecæ fructus cum viris omnium gentium eruditis candide & ingenue communicemus: inſignium enim Catalogorum editiones maximum Orbi literato emolumentum, maximum literarum ſtudiis incitandis, promovendis, perficiendis adjumentum afferunt; omniſque ex hiſce fane fontibus haurienda eſt *rei libraricæ notitia*; quam, a noſtris nimis etſi neglectam, haud in infimo tamen eruditionis gradu ponendam arbitror: *ſcire enim* (ut doctus quidam [m] monuit) *ubi aliquid poſſis invenire, magna pars eruditionis eſt.*

Catalogorum autem idem plane munus eſt in *Repubblica literaria*, quod in *Romana* fuit olim *Nomenclatorum*; indicant enim

[m] Schultetus delic. Evang.

Doctrinæ Candidatis nomina illorum, quos preſare, quos colere, quorumque ope uti oporteat, ut honores, quos ambiunt, confequi poſſint: quamque propterea jucundæ, quam doctis omnibus conſideratiſſimæ illorum prodeant impreſſiones, eruditorum ubique ſcripta, epiſtolæque abunde teſtantur. Neſcio (inquit [n] Coringius) qua arcana voluptate vel ſoli tituli librorum mulceant ingenuos quoſque Philomathæas animos. Et Joſ. Scaliger ad Gruſerum [o]: Indicem Bibliothecæ veſtræ ſedulo legi: locupletior eſt, & meliorum librorum quam Vaticanæ; itaque voluptati fuit legiſſe. Horum igitur plures ſane impreſſos videremus, ni ſumptus, laborque in iis edendis pæne infinitus obſtarent: etenim hoc ſiquis vulgare quidam, effectû facile, nec multæ indiſtriæ opus exiſtimaverit; hoſpes plane in re libraria ſit oportet, nec in hujus generis Authoribus verſatus; qui uno omnes ore, ſummam rei difficultatem prædicant. Mich. Mattaire, Vir ſane doctiſſimus, auctorque graviſſimus: Quiſquis, inquit, [p] hujusmodi operis ſategerit, ei non tantum multum tædii & laboris devorandum, pertinax adhibenda indiſtria, ſed minime vulgaris conferenda ad hoc propoſitum in evolvendis libris, iſſque (quotquot huc ſpectant) omnibus examinandis exercitatio. Fruſtra id aggrediuntur, qui titulo tenus duntaxat ſapiunt, &c. Author Systematis Bibliothecæ Jeſuiticæ Pariſienſis, Catalogum, inquit, tam numeroſum typis edere, infiniti eſt laboris, immodicæque impenſæ: hiſque ſe a Catalogi editione deterritum fuiſſe innuit. Coringius itidem [q] Indicis Bibliothecæ Auguſtæ deponendam omnino expectationem monet, tanquam rem effectû non diſcillimam duntaxat ſed impoſſibilem. Tho. Hyde Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ Præſectus in Catalogi iſtius editione ſe novennium integrum non ſine ſumma indiſtria contriviſſe proſitetur; qui tamen Alphabetice tantum conſtructus eſt, dimidiamque librorum noſtrorum partem haud multum exuperat: poſt novenniales autem hoſce labores negligentia tandem reprehensionem Vir doctus effugere nequii, quaſi opus quoddam imperfectum & minus utile ediderat,

[n] De Bibliotheca Auguſt. p. 5.

[o] De Biblioth. Heidelberg.

[p] Præf. Annal. Typogr. Vol. II.

[q] Ibid. p. 43.

propter omiffum ſcilicet, quem diximus, *Clafficum* librorum Catalogum. *Bailletus* enim (eruditus & ille quidem *Bibliothecarius*) *illa ipſa*, inquit, [r] *quæ Thomæ Hyde arrifit methodus, ut ad ſtudioꝝ utilitatem minus neceſſaria, ita nec ſola debuit adeſſe, ſed poſterior, cui priorem argumentorum ſive rerum Ordinem, utpote longe utiliorem præmitti oportere nemo non intelligit: hæc oportuit facere & illa non omittere.*

In libris porro *evolvendis*, ac in *proprias Claſſes* diſtribuendis, ii omnes notari & colligi a Bibliothecariis debent quorum *bina* vel *plura* occurrant *ejuſdem editionis Exemplaria*; quibus ſcilicet venditis demum aut commutatis, alii facile omnes, quos in diſciplina aliqua maxime deſideremus, pecunia inde conſecta comparari, Bibliothecæ defectus ſuppleri, Cataloguſque adeo auctior & perfectior fieri poſſit. In hoc vero toto opere perficiendo me nullam unquam laboris partem, quam mei ferre humeri valeant, declinaturum polliceor: quod de *Bibliothecario* itidem altero, *viro quidem induſtꝛio*, confirmare auſim: mihi tamen deplorata plane tota res eſſet, utpote *utriuſque longe vires* exuperans; niſi in *ea* eſſemus *Academia*, in qua prompta nobis parataque ſint tanta doctozum hominum auxilia; quos ad oneris huiusce ſocietatem & partitionem quandam advocatos ſtrenue nos conſilio, ſtudio, opera adiutores eſſe conſido.

Conſuetudinem illam quod attinet, libros impreſſos *e Bibliotheca Publica* promendi, atque ad cubacula ſua aſportandi, a quibuſdam reprenſam quidem; integram tamen Academicis conſervari vellem; utpote Bibliothecarum inſtitutioni imprimis conſentaneam, ſtudioꝝque rationi longe commodiſſimam; quæ a publicis ſemper locis abhorrent, atque otium & ſeceſſum omnino requirunt: librique hoc modo non niſi *ſænor*i dati magnas ſæpe Bibliothecæ præſtant *uſuras*, novozumque libꝛozum fructum ei quendam & incrementum haud raro pariunt: ex hac vero libꝛozum pro-

[r] Præf. Biblioth. Lamonianæ.

mendorum facultate nonnullos omnino eximi oportet, qui privati nequaquam usus esse, sed communes omnibus in Bibliotheca perpetuo servari debent: ut *Dictionaria, Indices, Repertoria, Bibliothecæ Authorum seu Facultatum, Thesauri Antiquitatum, Rymeri Fœdera, Biblia etiam Polyglotta, &c.* totumque illud genus, quod prout studiorum ratio postulet, consulere potius quam perlegere opus sit: libros denique a Studiosis ita desumptos *legibus* ad hanc rem constitutis prorsus subjici, atque ad *certum, definitumque tempus* restitui necesse est, ut videre tandem poterint *Bibliothecarii*, nequid inde damni capiat Bibliotheca. *Manuscriptorum autem Codicum* alia plane ratio est, omnesque, quos noverim, Bibliothecarum Institutores quam diligentissime eos custodiri & vix ultra ipsos *Bibliothecæ limites* evagari debere censuerunt; judicantes scilicet, idque quidem sapienter, *pretiosissima hæc Bibliothecarum suarum ornamenta*, quam rarissime desiderari atque abesse oportere; quorumque damnum refarciri nullo modo & compensari possit, quam paucissimis jacturæ casibus committi debere: hosce igitur libros etsi gravissima de causa *e Bibliothecæ mœnibus* exire nonnunquam pateret, nequaquam tamen abesse diutius, quam ipsa utendi causa & necessitas plane postularent: atque hæc *Codicum Manuscriptorum lex* a Majoribus accepta in hac nostra Academia *inviolata* semper obtinuit.

Quidam tamen apud nos, *viginti fere Codices MSS. e Bibliotheca publica domum* sibi transtulit; quorum aliquos *undecim*, alios *octo*, omnes autem *quinque ad minimum annos* sibi quasi proprios servavit; atque inter alios celeberrimum illud *Evangeliorum Exemplar*, quod a *doctissimo Beza* dono olim acceperat Academia; maximum plane *Bibliothecæ nostræ lumen*, clarissimumque *summæ vetustatis monumentum*; quodque Advenæ, Curiosique omnes unice ferme omnium videre & versare cupiunt: ejus tamen *septem jam circiter annos* non modo non utendi, sed ne conspiciendi quidem, nisi impetrata pius a *Viro bono* venia, copiam habuit Academia: etenim cogitat *Vir modestus* aliis demum omnibus persuadere, quod sibi jam diu habet persuasissimum, se *unum* esse in hac Academia, qui

qui *Manuscriptos libros* evolvere dignus haberi mereatur. Huncce vero *Bezae Codicem*, postquam repetitis nuntiis revocare frustra laborassem, ad Bibliothecam tandem paucis ante diebus, una cum reliquis illis supra memoratis, remittere dignatus est. Ex *Bibliotheca autem Eliensi* (quam *dono vere Regio* jam possidet Academia) libros itidem haud paucos, cum *Manuscriptos*, tum *perantiquarum* quosdam *Editionum* & melioris notæ impressos mutuo illum olim accepisse comperio; de quibus post tot annos restituendis *monitus* jam tandem cogitet velim, ne *per Judicem* illos me repetere cogat; etenim si hujusmodi libros *sine venia*, aut *cautione legitima* tam diu apud se detinere sibi *haud inbonestum* putet, at mihi certe esset, si pateret.

Non mei jam instituti est ad minutias illas, nugasque descendere, quibus tam putide commorari sæpe soleant *Bibliothecarii* & *scriptores*; regulas scilicet *Bibliothecæ* *verrendæ* præscribendas, librorumque a pulvere & sordibus purgandorum præceptiones: hujusmodi etenim omnia *Ufus*, *Sensusque* communis expedire satis apte & docere valeant: reliquum solum est, ut *Ordinis istius Classici* quem in librorum collocatione observandum omnino censeo, *tabellam quandam* seu *synopsin* exhibeam in varia *Capita* & *Titulos* pro rerum & argumentorum varietate distinctam. Nonnulli hujusce Artis Doctores, dum facilem, simplicemque quam maxime (naturæ quasi consentaneam) affectent viam; ob sectionum, titulorumque paucitatem *perturbata omnia*, *vaga*, *minusque distincta* relinquunt: alii interea dum artem præcipue ostentare, ac *elaboratam quandam Ordinis rationem* instituere cogitent, confusionem illam, quam tollere præ se ferunt, nimia divisionum subtilitate & multiplicatione pariunt: hæc duo vitia, quantum potui, vitare studui; collatisque inter se *haud paucis præstantissimarum Bibliothecarum Catalogis*, quicquid mihi recte in aliquo positum videbatur, transtuli statim & decerpfi; quod autem in omnibus desiderari adhuc putabam, id pro meo ingenio explere, & perficere sum conatus: neque tamen stultus adeo sum laborum meorum æstimator, ut tam feliciter me omnia putem assequutum, ut nullus aliorum

rum in hac cauſa ſtudiis, nullus *δευτέριος*, ut aiunt, *Φρονιſί*: locus ſit relictus; fateor enim hiſce me in literis *parum verſatum*, *novitiumque* plane eſſe; nihilque in animo habuiſſe antiquius, quam ut aliis perfectius aliquid, & ad rem noſtram accommodatius exco- gitandi anſam præberem; quod ſi fuero unquam conſequutus, maximum me laboris mei fructum percepiſſe arbitror.

IN ſequenti hacce *Librarii Ordinis* tabella *Jus Canonicum* a *Ci- vili*, *Hiſtoriamque* itidem *ſacram* a *Proſana* ſecernendam duxi, ut quicquid ad *Theologiam*, *remque* omnino *Eccleſiaſticam* pertine- ret, perpetua ſerie connexum ſub uno aſpectu caderet, unumque Corpus conficeret: *Hiſtoriæ* autem *Sacræ Proſanam* proxime ſub- jeci, quippe etſi rerum, quas tractent, diverſitate ſatis inter ſe diſtinguantur, ejuſdem tamen quum generis ſint, haud locorum in- tervallo ab invicem ſejungi debeant.

Singularum *Nationum Hiſtoriis* ſubjungendos omnino cenſui *Antiquitatum*, *Inſcriptionum*, *Numiſmatum* libros, *vitaſque* Homi- num in *unaquaque* illuſtrium; quæ propter argumenti affinitatem ad generalem Regni cujuſvis *Hiſtoriam* explanandam & perfici- endam quam plurimum valent.

Geographiam, contra ac plerique ſoleant, ad *finem Hiſtoricæ Claffis* rejeci, *Hiſtoriæ* quaſi *Appendicem*, eique illuſtrandæ, at- que animo inſigendæ potiſſimum inſervientem; quam vero ipſam per ſe, niſi *deguſtata prius Hiſtoria* ſive ſacra, ſive proſana, haud cum voluptate, aut fructu aliquo attingere poſſumus.

Diſtionaria & *Lexica* in *ſingulas Facultates*, ſeu *Claffes*, ad quas pertinent, *ſingula* diſtribui, ut *Lexica Medica* in *Medicinam*; *Hi- ſtorica* in *Hiſtoriam* &c. quod commodius longe, & ad uſum ap- tius judicavi, quam ſi tam varii, tamque diverſi prorsus argumenti libros, qui nihil præter nomen inter ſe commune habeant, in *unum Lexicographorum titulum* omnes conjeciſſem.

Grammaticis & Linguarum Lexicis extremum inter literas humaniores locum assignavi; utpote quæ non nisi ex prius editis *Oratorum, Poetarum, &c.* libris confecta penitus & collecta fuerint: nihil enim est, quod *Natura* non primum invenerit; *Ars* deinde rei inventæ disciplinam quandam, regulasque effinxerit.

Singulorum Authorum opera *utcumque varia & Miscellanea*, in unum collecta, simulque edita, nequaquam ab invicem distrahi vellem; omnia vero *præcipue* atque *illustrioris* alicujus partis (qua ipse maxime Author dignoscitur & celebratur) sortem & partitionem sequi debent: ut *Ciceronis opera omnia* in Oratoribus; *Plutarchi* in Biographis annumerentur.

Quæ vero tam *singularis*, tamque *inusitati* sint argumenti; quæve tantam *variorum, volantiumque*, ut aiunt, tractatum collectionem & farraginem complectentur, ut in *certam aliquam Classẽ* haud facile reduci queant; in unum omnia collecta *Classẽ* quandam *Miscellaneam* in extrema Bibliothecæ parte conficiant.

T H E O.

T H E O L O G I A.

BIBLIA.

Polyglotta. Partesque Biblicorum polyglottæ.

Hebraica itidem, aliarumque linguar. Orient. separatim.

Græca.

Latina.

In linguas vulgares translata.

Novum Testamentum, ejusque partes.

Concordantiæ, Lexica, Indices, Phrases, Sententiæ Biblicæ, &c.

BIBLIORUM EXPLANATORES.

Critici, qui varias lectiones, emendationes, seu de Interpretationibus, Interpretibus, & libris Canonicis scripserunt.

Glossatores, Scholiastæ, Paraphrastæ, Catenarum effectores.

Commentatores in Utrumque simul Testamentum.

in Vetus solum ejusque partes.

in Novum ejusque partes.

Rabbinorum Commentarii, Quique de rebus Judaicis scripserunt.

PATRES GRÆCI & LATINI.

Patres, Theologice Græci temporis ordine dispositi; atque Illorum deinde tractatus quorum tempora incerta.

Patres Latini ad finem 12^{mi} sæculi, quo nata est Schola; Scriptoresque itidem quorum tempora incerta.

Collectiones, Bibliothecæ, Thesauri, Auctaria, Antiquæ lectiones, Spicilegia, Dogmata, Sententiæ Patrum.

THEOLOGIA SCHOLASTICA.

Hujus Scriptores temporis ordine dispositi.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS.

Hujus Scriptores eodem ordine.

Casuum Conscientiæ Scriptores.

THEOLOGIA MYSTICA sive ASCETICA.

Qui de praxi virtutum in genere, & tota vita Spirituali scribunt ;
deinde qui de singulis virtutibus.

Qui variis ætatis gradibus, aut vitæ conditionibus regulas præ-
scribunt ; ut Pueris, Adolescentibus, &c. Principibus, Epif-
copis, Conjugibus, Virginibus, &c.

Qui de cultu Dei & Divinarum Trinitatis Personarum.

Qui de cultu Virginis, Angelorum, Sanctorum.

THEOLOGIA CONCIONATORIA.

Qui artem docent, quique materiam subministrant ex Scriptura,
Patribus.

Qui conciones scripserunt per annum totum, ejusve partes, qui-
que miscellaneas ediderunt &c. Concionatorum Bibliothecæ.

THEOLOGIA POLEMICA.

Adversus omnes Christi Religionis hostes, Atheos, Infideles.

Adversus Hæreticos.

Ecclesiæ Romanæ & Orientalis inter se controversiæ.

Romanorum itidem & Reformatorum cujuscunque nominis.

Romanorum inter seipsos.

Reformatorum inter seipsos.

CONCILIA, JUS CANONICUM & PONTIFICIUM.

De Conciliis in genere, eorum forma, autoritate, omnibusque
eo pertinentibus.

Conciliorum Generalium Collectiones.

Concilia Generalia separatim edita ordine Chronologico.

Concilia Nationalia, Provincialia, ordine Regionum & Urbium.

Canonum Collectiones ; Corpus Juris Canonici ; Epistolæ decre-
tales, Bullæ, &c.

Canonistæ, sive Commentarii, tractatusque generales & parti-
culares Juris Canonici, ordine Chronologico.

De Ecclesia, ejusque Hierarchia in genere; de potestate Ecclesiast. & Civili; Conciliorum & summi Pontif. autoritate; Sacerdotii & Imperii concordia.

De Cardinalibus, Legatis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Parochis, Canoniciis &c. de Beneficiis Ecclesiast. Sanctiones Pragmaticæ; Concordata.

De Clericis Regularibus in genere.

Regulæ, Constitutiones Regularium; Ordinum Monast. Militar. Monial.

De Disciplina & Censuris Ecclesiast. Inquisitione, &c.

De Divinis Officiis, & ritibus Ecclesiast. in genere.

Liturgiæ, Officia, & libri rituales Ecclesiarum singular. & Ordin. Monast.

HISTORIA SACRA & ECCLESIASTICA.

Chronologia & Historia Sacra Veteris & Novi Testamenti.

Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Universalis Scriptores ordine temporis & linguar.

Historiæ Ecclesiarum singularum; Græcæ, Romanæ, &c.

Vitæ & Acta Sanctorum, Martyrum, Pontificum Rom. Cardinalium, virorum & sceminarum pietate præstantium.

Historiæ Clericorum Regularium in genere; deinde singulorum Ordinum Monasticorum & Militarium.

Historiæ & Chronica Monasteriorum, locorum sanctorum, Miraculorum, Reliquiarum & Sacrarum Imaginum.

Hæresiologia.

Bibliothecæ & Catalogi Authorum Ecclesiasticorum.

Geographia Sacra & Ecclesiastica. Notitiæ Episcopatum, &c.

HISTORIA PROFANA.

De Historia conscribenda & legenda; de Historicis, &c.

Chronologia & Historia Universalis; Chronica generalia, &c.

Historia

- Historia Græca Antiqua, Veterumque Monarchiarum ; item
 Antiquitates, Inscriptiones, Numismata Græca.
 Historia Romana ab Urbe condita ad Imperii translationem ;
 Antiquitates itidem, Inscriptiones, Numismata.
 Historia Byzantina ad captam a Turcis Constantinopolim.
 Historia Imperii Occidentalis.
 Historia Saracenica & Turcica.
 Historia Magnæ Britanniae, & singularum ordine suo Europæ
 Regionum ; item Antiquitates, Inscriptiones, Numismata,
 Vitæque Hominum in singulis gentib. illustrum.
 Historia Miscellanea, Fabulosa, Genealogica, Heraldica.
 Historia literaria ; Continens historiam Academiarum, Typo-
 graphiæ, Bibliothecarum : vitas, elogia, epitaphia Virorum
 dignitate & literis illustrum ; Bibliothecas Universales Au-
 thorum ; particulares Regionum, Ordinum, Civitatum :
 librorum Catalogos.
 Rerum Asiaticarum ; Africanarum ; Americanarum ; & va-
 riarum Peregrinationum Scriptores : Itineraria Nautica.
 Geographi veteres & recentiores, generales & particulares : ta-
 bularum Geographicarum & Marimarum Collectiones.
 Dictionaria denique & Lexica Historica, Geographica.

JUS CIVILE.

- Jus antiquum Græcum ; Romanum ; Leges antiquæ ; Codex
 Theodosianus ; Corpus Juris a Justiniano edit. Novellæ
 Constitutiones ; Basilicorum libri, seu jus Græco-Rom.
 Juris consultorum Commentarii, seu tractatus varii in unum
 collecti, Concilia, Decisiones juris.
 Tractatus de singularibus Juris Titulis ; ut de Testamentis,
 Usura, &c.
 Juris Gentium Scriptores ; Fœdera & Pacta Principum ; Jus
 Feudale.
 Leges & Constitutiones singularum Regionum ; Angliæ, Gal-
 liæ, Italiæ, &c.
 Bibliothecæ, Lexica, Indices, Compendia, Repertoria Juris.

PHILOSOPHIA proprie dicta.

Philosophi antiqui Græci, Latini, Arabes, & in eos Commentarii.

Philosophiæ generalis Scriptores recentiores.

Tractatus Logici, Ethici, Oeconomici, Politici.

Physici, Metaphysici, Theologia Naturalis, Lexica Philosophica.

MATHEMATICA.

Opera Mathematica generalia Veterum & Recentiorum.

Arithmetica, Algebra, Fluxiones.

Geometria Practica, Speculativa, Trigonometria.

Astronomia, Ephemerides, Calendaria; Gnomonica.

Astrologia; ad quam revocari possint aliæ artes divinatrices.

Optica, Perspectiva.

Musica.

Mechanica, Statica, & de motu Corporum.

Architectura, Pictura, Sculptura, Artesque militares, Nautica, &c.

Lexica Mathematica, Technica, &c.

HISTORIA NATURALIS.

Qui de Historia Naturali Universali scripserunt.

Qui de Homine & Animalibus generatim & speciatim.

Qui de Plantis, Re rustica, Hortis, &c.

Qui de Fossilibus, metallis, lapidibus, ignibus subterraneis, balneis & aquis mineralibus.

Qui de Monstris & Prodigis; huc forsitan revocandi sunt qui de Spectris & Energumenis.

M E D I C I N A.

Veteres Medicinæ Principes Græci, Lat. Arab. & in eos Commentarii.

Recentiores, qui totam Medicinam attigerunt, quique de morbis in genere scripserunt; Observationes; Consultationes.

Qui de morbis Sexus, Ætatis, Gentisve alicujus propriis, atque de morbis singulis scripserunt.

Therapeutici & Pharmaceutici; qui de morborum curatione, & remediis, Venenis, Antidotis, & non-naturalibus scripserunt. Chemici.

Anatomici, Chirurgi, qui in genere, deinde qui de singulis operationibus.

Lexica Medica; Pharmacopœiæ, Dispensatoria; Hippiatrica, seu de Equorum curatione.

L I T E R Æ H U M A N I O R E S.

Oratores Veteres Græci, Latini, cum Commentariis & Versionibus: Item Proverbia, Phrases, loci communes, sententiæ ex eis collectæ; quique artem deinde Rhetoricam tradiderunt.

Oratores recentiores; qui Orationes encomiasticas, investivas, paræneticas, inaugurales, libellos famosos latine seu linguis vernac. scripserunt.

Poetæ Græci & Lat. Veteres; cum Commentariis & Versionibus; quique artem Poeticam tradiderunt.

Poetæ recentiores omnium gentium; qui latine, quique linguis Vulgar. Anglica, Gallica, Italica, &c. scripserunt.

Epistolares Scriptores Veteres & Recent. Græce, Lat. & in linguis Vernac.

Antiquarii, qui de Antiquitatibus in genere scripserunt; Mythologi, &c.

Philologia; operum Philologicorum collectiones; Philologi Veteres; Critici, qui observationes, emendationes, & varias lectiones ediderunt.

Polymathi,

Polymathi, seu Polygraphi, qui varia scripserunt ad artes liberales pertinentia.

Grammaticæ, Lexica, Glossaria linguarum omnium, Orientalium, Græcæ, Latinæ, Vulgarium : item Lexica Rhetorica, Poetica, & Singulorum Authorum ; ut Pindaricum, Ciceronianum, &c.

MISCELLANEA quæ ad certam aliquam Classẽm reduci nequeant.

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6-13-07

